

The Monastery of St. Chrysostomos at Koutsovendis (Cyprus) and Its Wall Paintings

Part I: Description

CYRIL MANGO

with the collaboration of E. J. W. Hawkins and Susan Boyd

PREFACE

The following report is based on fieldwork carried out as long ago as 1963 and 1968–69 with the objective of conserving, cleaning, and studying the wall paintings of the north church of the Chrysostomos monastery. A preliminary account of our first campaign was published in *DOP* 18 (1964), 333–39. The conservation of the paintings was largely completed in 1968, followed in 1969 by a campaign of photography, measurement, and study. It was hoped to return to the monument in order to verify certain details of our documentation, but other commitments prevented the undersigned from doing so in the following few years. The Turkish occupation of northern Cyprus in 1974 created a further obstacle. The monastery, because of its strategic location, was turned into an army post, and all our attempts to be permitted to visit it remained fruitless.

In order not to delay any further the publication of this important monument, we resolved to present *tels quels* the materials gathered by us from 1963 to 1969. Of the present condition of the wall paintings we have no personal knowledge. According to a recent report by Dr. R. Cormack, presented to the Committee on Culture and Education of the Council of Europe (Doc. 6079, 6 July 1989, p. 25), most of the paintings have been whitewashed up to a height of about 2 m. Higher up the walls, sheets of paper have been pasted over representations of human figures. It appears that no serious mutilation of the paintings has taken place.

Our publication will be in two parts. Part I contains a description of architecture, sculpture, and

paintings. Part II, which we hope to complete in the very near future, will be devoted to a discussion of the history of the monument, certain significant features of its architecture, and the iconography and style of the paintings. Both parts will then be issued as a monograph. For an understanding of Part I, it is sufficient to bear in mind that the south church was built in ca. 1090, and that the north church was added to it in ca. 1100.¹ All available evidence indicates that the paintings pertain to a single period and that they, too, were executed in ca. 1100.

The supervision of our work in the monastery was carried out by Mr. E. J. W. Hawkins, who is also responsible for the "Technical Observations" on pp. 93–94. Most of the cleaning, conservation, and photography was in the able hands of Mr. Yannis Makridis. The descriptive notes on the paintings were taken in 1969 by Miss Susan Boyd. The architectural drawings, based on measurements by the undersigned, are by Mr. Richard Anderson.

We should like to express our gratitude to the Greek Patriarchate of Jerusalem, to whom the monastery belongs, and to successive abbots for their hospitality; to Dr. V. Karageorghis, Director of the Department of Antiquities, Republic of Cyprus, and Mr. A. Papageorgiou, Curator of Monuments, for their help and support throughout the period of our work on the island; to Mr. A. H. S.

¹In our preliminary report we expressed some doubt whether the north church should be attributed to ca. 1100 or ca. 1110–15. On further reflection we now favor the earlier date.

Megaw, who initiated our project, for sharing with us his profound knowledge of the monument; to Miss Joyce Plesters, lately of the National Gallery, London, for an analysis of paint samples; and to Mrs. Hilda Hawkins for her active participation in our work and making our sojourn in the monastery more comfortable.

Finally, special thanks are due to the A. G. Leventis Foundation for a generous grant toward the production of the color plates reproduced here.

C. M.

The monastery of St. John Chrysostom, or simply Chrysostomos, is situated on the southern slopes of the Pentadaktylos mountain range, about seven miles as the crow flies northeast of Nicosia. The most convenient way of reaching it (before 1974) was via the highway leading to Kythrea. At the large village of Mía Milia (representing the fief of Enia Milias under the Lusignans),² one turned left along a minor road that runs almost due north, a distance a little more than four miles, to the oddly named village of Koutsovendis, said to have been once inhabited by Maronites (elevation 325 m, population 163 in 1960).³ As one proceeds uphill from the village to the monastery, a further distance of about one mile, one sees on the left two small Byzantine churches that are joined together. They are traditionally identified as those of Panagia Aphendrika (the somewhat larger north church) and St. Savior (the south church) and have been roofless for several centuries. The south church contains notable remains of twelfth-century paintings, including a well-known Lamentation.⁴

The monastery (elevation 380 m) affords a magnificent panorama of the Nicosia plain (Fig. 1). It forms a rectangle, with residential wings on two sides and a gateway to the east. The living quarters are not of great antiquity, and may have been built,

in whole or in part, after a fire in ca. 1675 (see below). In the middle of the central courtyard stand two joined churches. The southern one, which until recently was used for religious services, was reconstructed in a nondescript style in 1891. The northern church, originally dedicated to the Holy Trinity, is a Byzantine building and contains the wall paintings discussed below.

Towering above the monastery at a height of about 1,000 m is the medieval castle of Buffavento.

I. EARLY DESCRIPTIONS

The earliest European traveler who left an account of the monastery (in 1683) appears to have been the Dutchman Cornelis van Bruyn.⁵ He describes it as surrounded by a good wall and containing several rooms of modern style, rebuilt a short time previously, following the destruction of a great part of the building by fire. The church, divided into two parts, was 48 ft long and 28 wide.⁶ One of the two parts [the south church] was covered by a small dome containing a half-length painting of Christ [i.e., a Pantokrator] and, all round, other figures, nearly all effaced. The dome was supported by eight pillars, fastened to the walls. The altar [i.e., iconostasis] was adorned with gilded foliage, done not more than five years earlier [ca. 1678]. In that church was buried a princess, the same who built the ruined edifice on the top of the mountain [Buffavento Castle]. Two of her slaves were buried next to her, one on each side. Fourteen steps led above that church,⁷ where was to be seen a grotto, in which, it was said, the Turks had found a coffer full of gold. In that monastery there was also a small ruined chapel.⁸ The room used as the kitchen [perhaps the refectory] was 36 ft long and 18 wide. The community consisted of an abbot, three priests, and eleven monks.

There follows a story about the princess, which we find repeated over and over again with minor variations. She lived in Buffavento Castle in order to escape the violence of the Templars and was, furthermore, afflicted with an ulcer. A little dog, to which she was much attached, contracted the same disease. Every day it would run down the moun-

²See L. de Mas Latrie, *L'île de Chypre* (Paris, 1879), 191, 407, 421. Called Νέα Μηλιά του Ῥομαννοῦ (or Ῥομαγγοῦ) in the colophon, dated 1337, of Cod. Oxon. Auct. E. 5. 10: J. Mateos, *Le Typicon de la Grande Eglise*, I, OCA 165 (Rome, 1962), p. vii.

³See J. C. Goodwin, *A Historical Toponymy of Cyprus*⁵ (typewritten, Nicosia, 1985), I, 874.

⁴See A. and J. A. Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus* (London, 1985), 463–67. The frescoes of the south church were “cleaned and preserved” by Monica Bardswell in the 1930s: “A Visit to Some Maronite Villages of Cyprus,” *Eastern Churches Quarterly* 3 (1938–39), 307–8.

⁵*A Voyage to the Levant* (London, 1702), 267–68. The original Dutch edition was published at Delft in 1698. The passage that concerns us is reproduced (from the French trans. of 1714) by C. D. Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria* (Cambridge, 1908), 237–38.

⁶These dimensions apply reasonably well to the south church.

⁷The meaning of this statement is not entirely clear. Cf. below, note 28.

⁸Perhaps the north church.

tain and return in an improved state of health. Upon inquiry it was discovered that the dog bathed in a nearby fountain. Thereupon the princess, too, bathed in it and was cured of her disease. As a sign of gratitude, she built a monastery there and dedicated it to St. John Chrysostom. Van Bruyn adds that people still came to the fountain every day to regain their health.

Van Bruyn drew two sketches of the monastery, of which we reproduce one (Fig. 2).⁹ It shows the juxtaposed domes of the two churches, the main residential wing on the south side and a crenelated west wall. The ruins to the right appear to represent the two chapels of Koutsovendi.

Next (in 1735) came the Russian pilgrim Vasilij Grigorovič-Barskij, who spent four days in the monastery and drew an attractive sketch of it (Fig. 3). He was told by the abbot and by old monks that the monastery had first been founded in the name of the Holy Trinity and later rededicated to St. John Chrysostom. Its origin was due to a princess, who lived in the days of "ancient Christianity" and suffered from leprosy. She built a palace on top of the mountain [Buffavento Castle] in order to escape the heat of the summer and also because of her illness. Once, in a vision, she was directed to go down and bathe in a spring of flowing water. She did so and was cured; the spring still existed inside the monastery. As a sign of gratitude she built a monastery of the Holy Trinity with stone walls all round. The [north] church, very old, appeared ready to fall down. Attached to it was another church, built later, dedicated to St. John Chrysostom. Covered by a single dome, it was small, but beautifully decorated with different kinds of marble and porphyry, like the churches of Mount Athos. In it were four marble columns, smooth like a mirror, one and a half *sažens* [ca. 3.20 m] in height and no thicker than a man's neck. Their preservation was worthy of note seeing that the Turks had smashed and removed many pieces of marble in search of treasure. Even so, Barskij was quite impressed by the ornaments that had remained and the beauty of the marble floor. In the [south] church were six door surrounds and thresholds, one set to the north, one to the south, three to the west, and one on the west side of the narthex. The iconostasis and the lamps were very fine, and the church was painted from top to bottom. It was built of squared stone blocks alternat-

ing with strong tiles. The monastery itself had five or six cells and as many monks. Originally it had been much bigger and was subject to the archbishop [of Cyprus], but it passed under the authority of Moslems, who sold it to a Christian. The latter held it for many years and, after going on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, donated it to the Holy Sepulchre, so that now it belongs to the Patriarch of Jerusalem. From St. Chrysostomos Barskij proceeded to the nearby monastery of Apsinthiotissa, which he found inhabited by a single *hieromonachos* and one novice; it was subject to the abbot of St. Chrysostomos.¹⁰

Three years later, in 1738, the monastery was visited by Richard Pococke, who confirms that it belonged to the Holy Sepulchre and repeats the anecdote about the "queen of Cyprus."¹¹ "The monastery," he continues, "has been a very large building, though great part of it is ruined; there are two churches, one of which, called Saint Helena [the north church] is ruinous, the other is covered with a dome, and painted all over within; it is dedicated to St. John Chrysostom. Before it is a handsome portico [i.e., narthex], from which there are three doors with fine marble door-cases, that do not seem to be very antient; two scepters were formerly deposited behind the folding doors, the figures of which are painted on the wall, and at the bottom there is a place where the crown was kept. All the account they can give is, that they belonged to some queen, and that they were taken away by a pasha of Cyprus. It is possible that the regalia of Cyprus were kept here."

We learn less from Alexander Drummond, British consul at Aleppo (visit in 1750), who speaks of "a large though mean building; some parts are of good marble, well wrought, and tolerable mosaic of variegated stones, with a great deal of gilding and painting; but nothing is of a piece. The superior had no records, which indeed none of them have, but he told us it was founded by the king's daughter, who built the *Spitia tis Regina* [*sic*], upon the top of an almost inaccessible rock, two miles farther up in the mountains."¹²

In 1767 Giovanni Mariti came to the monastery from the northern shore of the island by way of

⁹The other (fig. 196) is a distant view of the monastery from the southeast with Buffavento Castle above it.

¹⁰*Stranstvovanija Vasil'ja Grigoroviča-Barskago*, ed. N. Barsukov, II (St. Petersburg, 1886), 245–48.

¹¹*A Description of the East and Some Other Countries*, II/1 (London, 1745), 222 = Cobham, *Excerpta*, 260.

¹²*Travels through Different Cities of Germany, Italy, Greece and Several Parts of Asia* (London, 1754), 273–74 = Cobham, *Excerpta*, 300–301.

Sicorudi (Sykari) and the Maronite village of Vouno. He found ten or twelve monks in residence. He writes:

Questo Monastero aveva avuta la sua origine fino dal tempo de i primi Imperatori Cristiani; e siccome la Chiesa mi pareva fabbrica più moderna, mi disse uno di quei Religiosi esser questa fatta posteriormente da una nobile Signora Cipriotta, che aveva anche amplificato il lor Monastero. La Chiesa è piccola, con pavimento di marmi, e dipinta alla maniera Greca. Nell'atrio vi è una lapide sepolcrale, sopra la quale i Greci tengono continovamente un lume, dicendo esser questo il deposito della stessa nobile Signora, che fondò questa Chiesa; accanto alla quale sono sepolte due schiave, che erano sue favorite, e che alla morte loro le volle appresso di se, per benemerito della sofferenza, che avevano avuta nell'assisterla, e curarla nell'ultima sua malattia. Appresso a questa Chiesa ve n'è un'altra più piccola, ed antica, ma non e ora ufiziata, nè considerata come Tempio, servendo per ricovero degli animali.¹³

The pseudonymous Ali Bey (Domingo Badia-y-Leyblich) visited our monastery in 1806 and drew a summary sketch of it, but wrote no description. In discussing Buffavento Castle (Palace of the Queen) he does, however, refer to the claim that the queen in question had also founded the monastery and that she was portrayed on an old picture, painted on wood. He continues;

This Princess is represented at prayers before an image of the Virgin Mary. The painter has executed the face of the Queen very prettily, but he has dressed her in a modern Greek costume. At the bottom of the picture is written the pretended name of this Queen, who is called Maria, daughter of Philip Molinos, &c. but it is half effaced. The monks pretend that they have preserved an ancient manuscript in their convent, which attests that this sovereign was their protectress; but no one has seen this manuscript, and the comparison of the two buildings [the castle and the monastery] discovers the anachronism. It is very certain that at the period when the Queen's palace was built, the Marias, the Philips, and the Molinos, were unknown, and still more so, the monks of the monastery of St. John Chrysostome.¹⁴

The icon, mentioned here for the first time, is still in existence.¹⁵ A mediocre work of the sixteenth century, it represents a portly Italian lady and, presumably, her young son kneeling in front

of the Virgin and Child, who are seated on an elaborate throne. The dedicatory inscription, placed above the donors' heads, was read in the last century as: Ἡ δέησις τῆς δούλης τοῦ Θεοῦ Μαρίας τοῦ (Φιλίππου) Μολίνο καὶ Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ Φιλίππου Μολίνο.¹⁶ Since that time about half of the inscription has flaked off, leaving only:

Ἡ δέησις τῆς δ(ού)-
λῆς τ Μαρίας
τ(οῦ) νο
κ (ου)
. Μολίνο

Standing behind Maria di Molino and Antonino is a saint in bishop's vestments, who is identified, not as St. John Chrysostom, but as St. John the Almoner, ὁ ἅγιος Ἰω(άννης) ὁ ἐλεημο [*sic*], that is, the patriarch of Alexandria (ca. A.D. 610–619). We are left, therefore, in some doubt whether the icon was indeed dedicated to our monastery and whether the Almoner was confused with Chrysostom.

In 1816 the monastery was visited by Otto Friedrich von Richter, who also drew a sketch of it (Fig. 4). On the inside, he says, it was surrounded by galleries, which gave access to rooms. The church was built of long, flat bricks. Its original main entrance was on the side of the garden and was usually closed. As one entered a vaulted vestibule [the narthex] one saw three fine doors of gray and white marble that led into the nave. The iconostasis, carved and gilded, was in two tiers. Next to the three doors and above them (*neben und über den drei Thüren*),¹⁷ as well as in the pavement, one could see remains of old mosaic made not of glass paste, but of different kinds of stone, among which a pair of natural configurations resembling figures or letters were pointed out as marvels by the monks. The dome of the church rested on semicircular piers engaged in the walls. The visitor could not discern in the dark whether the figures of saints on the ceiling were painted or of mosaic. Next to the main nave was a second one [the north church] covered with a smaller dome.¹⁸

In 1889, shortly before the original south church had been pulled down, came a certain Chr. Papadopoulos, who reports seeing the icon of Maria and Antonino di Molino and "their tomb," which was within the church. The library of the

¹³ *Viaggi per l'isola di Cipro*, I (Lucca, 1769), 132–34; trans. C. D. Cobham, *Travels in the Island of Cyprus* (London, 1909), 57–58.

¹⁴ *Travels of Ali Bey*, I (London, 1816), 279–82 = Cobham, *Excerpta*, 399–400. For the identification of Maria di Molino with the queen, see S. Menardos, Ἡ Ῥήγαινα, Δεῦτ. Ἑτ. Ἑλλ. 6 (1902), 121.

¹⁵ Reproduced in color by A. Papageorgiou, *Icons of Cyprus* (Paris-Geneva-Munich, 1969), 104.

¹⁶ J. Hackett, *A History of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus* (London, 1901) 357.

¹⁷ Possibly referring to panels of opus sectile framing the doors rather than to wall mosaics.

¹⁸ *Wallfahrten im Morgenlande* (Berlin, 1822), 317–18.

monastery, he continues, contained many important manuscripts "going back to the time of its foundation as well as property registers together with some ecclesiastical books. In addition, there are many official documents and deeds relating to the privilege of tax exemption of this monastery, which until the British occupation did not pay any tax whatever."¹⁹ We may well doubt that Papadopoulos saw any old manuscripts. None survive today.

To summarize such travelers' accounts as we have been able to collect, we may point out in the first place that the true origin of the monastery had been completely forgotten by the seventeenth century. The legend of the queen appeared to be connected with a tomb that was in the narthex of the main church, probably one of those "Gothic" funerary slabs bearing an incised figure of the deceased, that are so common in Cyprus. The tomb was that of a lady and she may well have been flanked by two small figures of her children,²⁰ the latter mistaken for her slaves. In fact, a small fragment of such a tomb still survives in the monastery (Fig. 186), but it is not clear whether it represents a man or a woman. It may be noted that a similar funerary slab, that of an anonymous lady married to the *archon* Leontes, existed in the narthex of the nearby monastery of Apsinthiotissa.²¹ It came to be regarded as representing the Panagia, and liturgy was celebrated on it on the feast of the Presentation.²²

The dedication of the two churches is given correctly only by Barskij, who, knowing Greek as he did, was in a better position than the western travelers to understand properly what he had been told by the monks. The north church, if it is indeed the chapel mentioned by van Bruyn, was already ruinous by the late seventeenth century, and by the mid-eighteenth it was used as a shelter for animals. As for the south church, its main ornaments were seen to reside in its mosaic (i.e., opus sectile) pavement, its marble door frames and its carved iconostasis of ca. 1670. The wall paintings receive little comment except for the mysterious "scepters" noted by Pococke.

¹⁹ Περιγραφή μονῶν τινῶν τῆς νήσου Κύπρου, Σωτήρ 13 (1890), 318–19.

²⁰ For comparable slabs see T. J. Chamberlayne, *Lacrimae Nicossenses* (Paris, 1894), pl. II, no. 9; pl. XXVI, no. 272.

²¹ A. K. Indianos in *Κυπρ. Σπουδ.* 4 (1940; publ. 1942), 31–32 and pl. VIII.

²² Timotheos of Jerusalem, *Αἱ ἐπωνυμῖαι τῆς Παναγίας*, *Νέα Σιών* 48 (1953), 10.

II. ARCHITECTURE

A. The South Church

The original south church, which constituted the *katholikon* of the monastery, was for the most part demolished and rebuilt in 1891, as stated in the following inscription placed over its southwest door (Fig. 16)

+ ΕΠΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΕΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΙΕΡΟ-
ΣΟΛΥΜΩΝ
ΓΕΡΑΣΙΜΟΥ ΤΟΥ Α' ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΗΓΟΥ-
ΜΕΝΙΑΣ ΑΡΧΙ-
ΜΑΝΔΡΙΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΑΛΛΟΥ ΚΑΡΑΓΕ-
ΩΡΓΑΚΗ
ΑΝΕΚΑΙΝΙΣΘΗ Η ΙΕΡΑ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΤΟΥ
ΘΕΙΟΥ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΥ ΕΠΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΡ-
ΧΑΙΩΝ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΩΝ ΘΕΜΕΛΙΩΝ
ΕΝ ΕΤΕΙ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΩ 1891 ΑΩΥΛΑ
ΚΑΤΑ ΝΟΕΜΒΡΙΟΝ Φ²³

That is: "During the patriarchate of Gerasimos I of Jerusalem and the abbacy of the Archimandrite Kyrillos Karageorgakis, the holy church of the divine Chrysostom was made new on its ancient Byzantine foundations in November of the year of the Lord 1891."

Of the Byzantine structure there remain the three semicircular apses, of which the southern is masked by the bell tower built in 1957, most of the north wall, which is common to the two churches (Figs. 36, 38), and the projecting north apse of the narthex, preserved to a height of only about 0.40 m above ground level (Fig. 9). The masonry is of neatly coursed and squared limestone blocks, separated by very narrow joints (0.5 to 1 cm) of white mortar with an admixture of gray grit. The courses are, for the most part, between 25 and 30 cm high. Only the double voussoir rings of the three windows of the central apse and the spandrels between the windows are of brick (Fig. 8).²⁴ A projecting cornice (now forming the top border of the painting of the Anastasis) ran on the exterior of the north wall at a height of 3.95 m above original ground level (Fig. 86, top left corner).

Our knowledge of the original south church is in large measure due to a plan made some time before 1891 by W. Williams, district engineer of Cyprus, and published by G. Jeffery (Fig. 7).²⁵ It

²³ The final sign is probably the mason's signature.

²⁴ Restored in 1958. See *Annual Report of the Director of Antiquities* (hereafter *RDAC*) for the Year 1958 (Nicosia, 1959), 15.

²⁵ *Proc. of the Soc. of Antiquaries of London*, 2nd ser., 28 (1915–16), 115, fig. 3A.

shows a rectangular nave very nearly 10 m from east to west and about 8 m from north to south (internal measurements), covered by a dome about 6.30 m in diameter. The dome was supported on eight rounded piers, the two eastern ones being freestanding and the rest engaged in the walls. It may be observed that the space between the eastern piers was slightly narrower than the opening of the central apse, so that the arches linking the piers to the apse must have diverged toward the east, a peculiarity that is also observable in the roofless church of St. Hilarion's castle.²⁶

Communicating with the nave by three doors was a deep narthex, terminating in semicircular apses to north and south. The wall of the south apse is shown abnormally thick by Williams, possibly as the result of the addition of a skin of masonry on the outside. The vaulting of the narthex had clearly been altered in the Gothic period, as also happened in the Apsinthiotissa monastery.²⁷ Examination of the extant portion of the north apse shows that it originally had an axial door, 1.40 m wide. On its west jamb were observed two renderings of painted plaster, the earlier one having a black horizontal line on a yellow background at a height of 35 cm above the original floor level, while the later one was green. The door was filled in connection with the insertion of a Gothic rib, and another door, 1.25 m wide, was cut through the wall immediately to the east of the rib (Fig. 9). The north apse stands on a rectangular platform, which appears to be original.

The Williams plan shows two subsidiary structures attached to the south wall of the church, namely, a small chapel with an apse and some sort of chamber (not measured on the inside), with an open passage between the two, terminating in a semicircular flight of three steps. There was also a porch, containing a staircase, built against the west wall of the narthex.²⁸

The new church, a rectangular structure of three bays without narthex, is covered by pointed cross-groined vaults. It was built directly on the foundations of the old church except for the projecting apses of the narthex, which were left outside its perimeter.

²⁶ Plan in G. A. Soteriou, *Τὰ βυζαντινὰ μνημεῖα τῆς Κύπρου* (Athens, 1935), fig. 13.

²⁷ See A. Papageorgiou, 'Ἡ μονὴ Ἀψινθιωτίσσης, *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus, 1963* (Nicosia, 1963), 75 and pl. xi, 2.

²⁸ Possibly, the mysterious "fourteen steps" mentioned by C. van Bruyn (above, p. 64) were in the porch.

Other surviving elements of the original church include:

1. Pavement

The semicircle of the central apse is covered with an over-all pattern in opus sectile consisting of little hexagonal plaques joined at their corners by diamonds (Fig. 10). This was repaired and reset by the Department of Antiquities while our work was in progress. To the north and south of the modern altar table is an incomplete rectangular panel of pink marble within a double border of opus sectile (Figs. 11, 12). The large square frame in the middle of the nave also appears to be original. It is of white Proconnesian marble with figure-8 corner insets in verd antique. The paving within the frame, including a small section of opus sectile (Fig. 14), probably taken from elsewhere, is, however, modern. A comparable square frame in the contemporary church of Veljusa in Yugoslav Macedonia is filled with interlace.²⁹

We saw, furthermore, a loose fragment of opus sectile, 44 cm square (Fig. 13), decorated with an intricate pattern based on eight-pointed stars. It is made of white, gray, black, and yellow marble, red stone, and one small piece of green porphyry.

2. Marble Door Frames

Three door frames of Proconnesian marble are preserved, being inserted: (1) in the west door of the south church (Fig. 15); (2) the southwest door of the same (Fig. 16); and (3) the west door of the north church (Fig. 17). None is in its original position, and No. 3 was only put to its present use when the west wall of the north church was restored by the Department of Antiquities in 1947. As noted above (p. 65), Barskij claims to have seen six door surrounds, whereas Pococke and von Richter mention only three, namely, those pertaining to the three doors that led from the narthex into the nave. It is highly likely that those are the three surrounds that have survived. The biggest frame, No. 1, measures 2.66×1.57 m (outside dimensions, including edging of dentils) and has an opening of 2.50×1.25 m. The corresponding dimensions for No. 2 are 2.06×1.24 and 1.93×0.96 ; and for No. 3, 2.06×1.25 and 1.94×0.97 . Nos. 2 and 3, which form a matching pair, are surmounted by a splayed lintel decorated at the top with a double row of dentils that would be at home in a Byzantine monument of the eleventh

²⁹ See P. Mil'ković-Peppek, *Veljusa* (Skopje, 1981), 140–42 and fig. 25.

century.³⁰ No. 1 has a more elaborately decorated lintel (Fig. 18) with a twisting vine stem issuing from two small amphoras placed at the corners. The central twist of the stem encloses a “leaved cross” and each of the others contains a leaf with prominent veins and a bunch of pointed grapes. Although the motif is of Early Christian origin, the rather finicky carving does not appear to us Byzantine and resembles that of the two strange capitals which are now in the templon of the north church (Fig. 41). Whether this is Crusader work or later is a question we must leave open for the present.

3. Carved Wooden Door

The remarkable wooden door, consisting of two valves, is now placed within the outer western entrance, but since it fits door frame No. 1, it is reasonable to assume that it originally stood in the central opening leading from the narthex into the nave. Although the study of this door did not form part of our program, we consider it useful to reproduce a few photographs of it (Figs. 20–23). It recalls in its construction Islamic examples from the Near East and may well date from the late eleventh century.

B. The North Church

Equal in length to the south church, but appreciably narrower, the north church is a specimen of what may be termed the “compressed cross-in-square type.” While its plan is sufficiently regular, the west door is noticeably off axis. This is due to the projection of the preexisting north apse of the narthex of the south church. For the same reason the narthex of the north church was built in an asymmetrical form (Fig. 6).

The north church is constructed largely, though not exclusively, of brick. Stone courses have been introduced at the springing of the main arches and at irregular intervals elsewhere. The bricks, which are of poor quality and brittle to the touch, measure 35 to 39 cm on the side and are 4 cm thick. They are separated by weathered joints, about 5 cm wide, of white mortar containing gray grit. The construction of the dome differs somewhat from that of the rest of the building, probably for decorative effect. Above a plain cornice of cut stone, the drum consists of two courses of roughly squared

stones, followed by three courses of brick and two more of stone, reaching up to the springing of the dome windows. In places bricks have been placed vertically between individual stone blocks. Above the voussoir rings of the windows, which are of brick, as are also the spandrels between them, there are three more courses of stone which form the beginning of the inward curve (Fig. 47). The corresponding zone on the exterior of the drum is also of stone, each block neatly framed by bricks in the manner of the *parement cloisonné* so common in Greece. The calotte of the dome is built not of brick, but of pan tiles (29 to 36 cm long) having raised ridges on their sides (Fig. 51).

The dome appears to have been built without centering. Eight putlog holes above the voussoir rings of the windows (four on the cardinal points and four on the diagonals) indicate that a wooden platform was placed here in the course of construction.

During its long history the north church underwent a number of changes that are, unfortunately, all but undocumented. At an unknown date a major effort was made to reinforce the whole fabric by thickening the four main piers and underpinning the arches by an inner ring of masonry. The two western recesses (including the window of the north recess) were simultaneously filled up, as were some, if not all, of the dome windows and, possibly, the north door. Perhaps at the same time the roof line of the vaults, which form a cross at the base of the dome (assuming it was originally rounded, as it has since been restored), was altered to a gabled shape. This operation was carried out with some care, seeing that the east gable (Fig. 30) was constructed of fairly well cut blocks of stone, and a stringcourse, also of stone, was carried all round the building (except on its unexposed south side), defining the east, north, and west gables. Finally, an exterior buttress (since removed) was built against the east end of the north wall (Fig. 31).

It may be conjectured that these extensive repairs were carried out during the Lusignan or Venetian period. The fact that nearly all the wall paintings have disappeared from areas that were not covered with added masonry indicates a long period of neglect and exposure to the elements following the consolidation measures. Furthermore, we have seen from travelers' accounts that the north church was ruinous by the first half of the eighteenth century and possibly in the late seventeenth. During the period of abandonment, a big breach was broken through the apse down to

³⁰Cf. the framing elements of the marble revetment of Nea Moni: Ch. Bouras, *Ἡ Νέα Μονὴ τῆς Χίου* (Athens, 1981), figs. 66–67, 77, 134.

ground level,³¹ most of the narthex collapsed, and the original pavement, which must have been of marble, was probably robbed.

The first repairs, in 1942, consisted in the rebuilding of the apse (Fig. 30). In 1947 the west facade was restored (Fig. 32). This involved the insertion in the door opening of one of the marble frames from the south church and, above it, of a perforated gypsum grille, replacing the brickwork fill under the arch (possibly original), which was found to be in a precarious state. An intrusive rectangular window under the west gable was also filled up.

The general repair of the church was completed in 1956–58.³² A concealed collar of reinforced concrete was carried round the whole building, with cross-ties east and west of the dome base (Fig. 33). A similar collar was inserted at cornice level of the dome. The structure having thus been made secure, the interior reinforcements, which we have attributed to the Lusignan or Venetian period, were removed, revealing such wall paintings as survive. The blocked dome windows were opened, as was also the original north door. The exterior buttress was dismantled. The masonry was made good, and all parts of the roof, including the dome, were retiled. In 1963 a new floor was laid in the church, and the marble columns of the iconostasis were set up,³³ though probably not in their correct position.³⁴ Finally, in 1970 parts of the walls were plastered to afford better protection to the paintings.³⁵

Such, in outline, is the structural history of the church. Now for some points of detail.

1. South Wall

As already indicated, the cut stone wall extending some 2 m from the southeast pier belongs to the original phase of the south church. The rest of the wall, however, is of nondescript rubble construction and contains a considerable number of broken bricks (Figs. 36, 38). It may have been made in 1891, when the south church was rebuilt. Note that the present door leading into the south church is not in its correct place; originally it must have been closer to the southwest pier like the corresponding north door.

2. West Wall

The wall, both on the inside and the outside, is of a regular brick construction up to a point a little above the springing of the door arch, but from there on it is of rubble with occasional brick courses (Figs. 26, 40). The presence of small fragments of fresco in the area of rubble and brick construction seems to indicate that the latter is original.

3. North Wall

Nearly the entire surface of the wall that is not covered with fresco is made up of rough rubble construction that cannot be original and looks, in fact, rather recent (Fig. 37). The primary brick construction is visible at the bottom of the wall, underneath the fragment of the Crucifixion, and, on the west side, near the springing of the arch. One can only conclude that at some time the greater part of the wall was broken through and later filled. One may further note that the Williams plan (Fig. 7) shows a fairly wide, filled door in the center of the wall and Soteriou's plan of 1933 likewise a central door, though somewhat narrower.³⁶ As to the present door, it is certainly original, though it may have been a few centimeters narrower than it is now; its east jamb is a modern restoration.

The most curious feature of the north wall is, however, the molded cross that is built into the exterior, directly under the eaves (Fig. 29). Its central, sunken part is now filled with cement, which did not allow us to ascertain whether this was originally a window with slit openings or merely an ornamental element. If it was a window, it is not in its original position because the upper arm of the cross overlaps the thickness of the north arch, while the horizontal bar and foot, if open, would have cut into the painting of the Betrayal on the inside. Even if it was not a window, one is left wondering when it was placed here, for the cross gives the impression of having been part of a building of cut stone. In the absence of any pertinent parallel on the island,³⁷ we cannot decide whether the cross was removed from the south church, which, as we have seen, was built of stone blocks of com-

³¹ Photograph in Soteriou, *Μνημεία*, pl. 29b.

³² RDAC for 1956, 15 and figs. 31–33; for 1957, 13; for 1958, 15 and figs. 16–17.

³³ RDAC for 1963, 11.

³⁴ See below, p. 71.

³⁵ RDAC for 1970, 13.

³⁶ *Μνημεία*, fig. 33.

³⁷ The cruciform window in the west gable of Panagia Kanakaria is quite dissimilar. See A. H. S. Megaw and E. J. W. Hawkins, *The Church of Panagia Kanakaria at Lythrankomi in Cyprus* (Washington, D.C., 1977), 34, who attribute it to the 12th century. Carved stone crosses on the exterior of churches are, of course, common in medieval Georgian and Armenian architecture.

parable size, or whether it pertains to the “Lusignan/Venetian” repair of the north church.

4. The Narthex

Deeper than it is wide, the narthex is not bonded into the north church. Judging by the brickwork, however, it appears to have been built approximately at the same time. Originally it was covered by a single cross-groined vault springing from small corner pilasters, which were reinforced with rough rubble masonry at a later date. Today the following elements survive:

The north wall to its full height. It is pierced by a central door and has a tall window on either side (Fig. 184). The construction is of brick except for the lunette, which contains both brick and rubble.

Of the west wall very little remains. Part of a marble slab, placed vertically, appears to indicate the north jamb of the entrance door. Next to it is a small area of plaster rendering, meeting the original floor.

The southeast corner forms the negative impression of the projecting apse of the narthex of the south church (Fig. 27). It was built in two stages. First, the west wall of the north church was brought against the apse, with a jog at an obtuse angle. Second, a pier was built within that angle. This pier survives up to the springing of the vault it carried. The construction is again mostly of brick, with some stone. An earthenware pipe is embedded at a considerable height in the jog of Stage 1 construction.

5. The Templon Screen

Six slender columns of Proconnesian marble with a wooden beam laid over them were erected by the Department of Antiquities in 1963 to form the skeleton, so to speak, of a templon screen in the bema (Fig. 35). Six is certainly too many for the width of the bema opening (4.50 m), which, in our opinion, would call for a maximum of four. The evidence regarding these columns may be set out as follows:

i. Barskij records four of them as being in the south church. He does not say exactly where he saw them, but since the carved wooden iconostasis was already in place by the time of his visit, they could not have been in the templon.

ii. In the early years of the twentieth century, G. Jeffery noted: “The iconostasis [of the north church] is curious as having been constructed with two slender marble columns which remain *in situ*, but they are now filled in with clumsy woodwork

of a later period. Two marble columns of the same design as those supporting the iconostasis are inserted as angle shafts at each side of the apse. Although these columns have leafage capitals of a very Byzantine character they are perhaps work of the Venetian period.”³⁸

iii. Some time thereafter the four columns were taken out of the north church and reappeared in the courtyard of the monastery as *six* columns (of which one was incomplete) with six capitals and five bases. Tsiknopoullos³⁹ asserts that two of them had been used to support a shed and gives the number of bases as four. Examination of the surviving elements indicates that whereas all six columns must have had nearly the same height, four of them constitute a set, while the remaining two are of a different design. Our notes, taken in 1963 before the erection of the templon screen, give the following particulars:

Shafts

- A: Molded necking and narrow fillet at base. Height 2.52 m, top diameter 0.15, bottom diameter 0.17.
- B: Different molded necking; narrow fillet at base. Height 2.54 m, top diameter 0.17, bottom diameter 0.18.
- C: No necking, wide fillet at base (0.09 m high). Height 2.56, diameter top and bottom 0.15.
- D: Similar to C. Height 2.61 m.
- E: Similar to C. Height 2.63 m.
- F: Fragment, 1.42 m high. Similar to C, D, E.

Capitals

- A,B: Very strange, pseudo-Corinthian capitals with a single row of acanthus leaves, inverted volutes and decorated bosses on the abacus (Fig. 41). Height 0.21 m, top 0.225 square, lower diameter 0.155.
- C: Single row of carelessly executed acanthus leaves; square top (0.29 m on each side) with projecting bosses (Fig. 42). Height 0.185, lower diameter 0.15.
- D: Single row of acanthus leaves. Viewed from the top, the sides (0.28 × 0.29 m) are concave, with projecting bosses. Wide abacus with a ruling in the middle (Fig. 43). Height 0.175, lower diameter 0.155.
- E: Single row of acanthus leaves; square top (0.28

³⁸A *Description of the Historic Monuments of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1918), 273.

³⁹Ἡ ἱερὰ μονὴ τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου τοῦ Κουτζουβένδη (Nicosia, 1959), 82–83.

× 0.29m), no bosses (Fig. 44). Height 0.15, lower diameter 0.16.

F: Single row of acanthus leaves curling over at the corners. Sides at the top 0.29 m, slightly concave with projecting bosses (Fig. 45). Height 0.145, lower diameter 0.15.

Though C,D,E and F are all slightly different from one another, they all exhibit the same style, whereas A and B are *sui generis* and cannot be regarded as Byzantine work.

Bases

We recorded only three:

A,B: Octagonal plinth 0.045 m high, 0.26 square. Total height 0.13, upper diameter 0.165 and 0.18. Cutting on one side for insertion of parapet slab.

C: Square plinth 0.05 m high, 0.26 square. Moldings taper toward the top. Height 0.14, upper diameter 0.165. Cuttings on two sides for insertion of parapet slabs. Bases D and E, which we did not describe, also have a square plinth. The sixth base is a modern reproduction.

Whatever trust we may wish to place in Barskij's testimony, we can hardly doubt that Jeffery recorded correctly what he saw at the beginning of this century. Seeing that he refers specifically to "leafage capitals of a very Byzantine character," he must have had Nos. C–F in mind. His observation that two columns remained in situ, whereas two similar ones had been inserted "as angle shafts at each side of the apse" may be explained on the hypothesis that originally they were placed in the order:

|C—D E—F|

When the bema opening was reduced by about 1 m following the insertion of a supporting arch some time before the Turkish conquest of the island, the two end columns, which had been placed next to the north and south piers, respectively, had to be moved; that is why Jeffery saw them at each side of the apse. By way of corroboration it may be noted that a beam hole was visible on the south face of the northeast pier at a height of 2.93 m above the modern floor of the bema. That corresponds closely to the combined height of base, shaft, and capital.

We may conclude, therefore, that columns and capitals C–F did form part of the templon of the north church.⁴⁰ The form of the shafts, which

⁴⁰ A possible objection is that each base would have required on our hypothesis only one cutting for the insertion of a parapet slab. Yet we have seen that at least one of the square bases has two cuttings, one on each side.

seems to correspond to the Byzantine term *λεπτοκάλαμος*,⁴¹ is not, it is true, particularly suited for such use, since it does not lend itself to the slotting-in of parapet slabs, as a normal pier-colonnade does. Slender columns of circular cross-section would have been more appropriate for a ciborium, for supporting a staircase, and other uses that did not involve carrying a heavy load. Possibly, they were obtained at second hand in the late eleventh century and used in the templon in the absence of more appropriate marble elements.

We are left with columns and capitals A–B unaccounted for. Presumably, they came from the south church, and there could well have been four or more of the same kind, so that Barskij need not have been mistaken.

Among various fragments of stone preserved in the monastery was a broken parapet slab, 0.83 m high (Fig. 46). When complete, it would have been very nearly 1.00 m wide. It is only 3.5 cm thick, but appears to have been re-cut on the back and used, perhaps, as a table top. The decoration on the front is of an Early Christian type, consisting of a medallion, from the bottom of which issues a twisted rope, its ends terminating in an ivy leaf(?). Inside the medallion is a six-pointed star, while a three-petaled leaf is placed diagonally in the upper right-hand corner of the panel. In view of the dimensions of the slab, it may have been part of a chancel screen. Another fragment—a marble beam decorated with interlace—is immured above the entrance gate of the monastery (Fig. 19).

III. DESCRIPTION OF PAINTINGS

It should be noted that dimensions of panels and compositions are given exclusive of the red borders. In the case of fragments, we have quoted maximum dimensions.

⁴¹ As in Theophanes Cont., Bonn ed., 141.19, with reference to a decorative arch (τροπική) ὑπὸ δύο λεπτοκάλαμων κιόνων ἐστηρικμένη. See also the inventory (A.D. 1202) of the house of Botaniates that had been ceded to the Genoese (F. Miklosich and J. Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi* (Vienna, 1860–90, III 55–57) and the Latin trans. of an earlier deed (A.D. 1192), *ibid.*, p. xi ff; slightly different version in *Codice diplomatico della Repubblica di Genova*, III (Fonti per la storia d'Italia, 89), 68 ff. The ciborium (καπατέασμα) of the church attached to the house of Botaniates is described as being supported διὰ λεπτοκάλαμων τεσσάρων (*a quattuor columnis subtilibus*), whereas the templon was upheld by pier-colonnades of verd antique, διὰ στημονόρων (*de stimonariis*) τεσσάρων πρασίνων. Other *leptocalami* are mentioned in the same documents as being in the south annex of the church and as holding up the ceiling of various chambers.

The Greek inscriptions are reproduced exactly as we saw them. The absence of accents and/or breathings may in some cases be due to loss of paint. The end of each verse is indicated by a vertical line (|); a double vertical line (||) means that the inscription continues on the other side of a figure.

In describing costume, we have usually called the lower garment the tunic, and the upper garment the chlamys. In the case of clergy,⁴² the technical terms are:

<i>Sticharion</i>	= Tunic. Its cuffs are called <i>epimanikia</i> .
<i>Phelonion</i>	= Upper garment
<i>Epitrachelion</i>	= Neckpiece
<i>Omophorion</i>	= Pallium, always decorated with crosses, the sign of episcopal dignity
<i>Orarion</i>	= A narrow strip of cloth laid over one shoulder of deacons.

The *enchirion* is not represented in the paintings of St. Chrysostomos.

In the case of monks,⁴³ we have used the terms tunic (*chiton*), scapular (*analabos*), mantle (*mandyas*), and hood or cowl (*koukoullion*).

A. Dome

1. Pentecost

The entire interior surface of the dome was occupied by a composition that can be identified as the Pentecost on the basis of the figures of seated apostles (originally twelve) placed between the windows. The tiny fragments that remain are partly in the form of a preliminary sketch in red ochre on the bare surface of the masonry (hence not an underdrawing that would have been executed on a coat of plaster, but merely a rough layout of the composition), partly in finished form. Of the former the following traces are left:

i. Two concentric circles 10 cm apart going round the calotte of the dome, the outer one (diameter 3.40 m) being ca. 3.50 m above the windowsills. These would have corresponded to the circular glory of the Etimasia.

ii. Between windows 9 and 10 (numbered as on

the face of a clock), a small segment of a halo in two concentric lines. (Fig. 52)

iii. Between windows 10 and 11, upper half of seated figure (Fig. 48). Most of the head is obliterated, except for indication of beard and lower portion of halo. Left hand may have held a scroll. Fold of chlamys sweeps down diagonally from left shoulder to about the height of right knee. Border of window indicated on both sides.

iv. The best-preserved figure, turned toward the east-west axis, is between windows 11 and 12, drawn partly on bare masonry, partly on a plaster wipe (Fig. 49). Head with short beard and curly hair has the characteristics of St. Peter (whose presence would indeed be normal in this position). Halo struck three times. Outline of figure preserved to below right knee, over which falls a thick drapery fold. Right hand blesses, palm turned inward; left hand held a scroll in a diagonal position. Window border outlined on both sides.

When the composition was painted, the figures of the apostles were lowered by about 15 cm with regard to the preliminary sketch. The following fragments of the painting remain:

i. Between windows 1 and 2, portion of a seated figure from waist to mid-calf (width between borders 60 cm, preserved height 67 cm), dressed in gray-blue tunic with white highlights and two red clavi, one forming outline of left knee, the other running down the center of the figure (Fig. 50). Chlamys light green with white highlights and dark green shadows, shading to brown between the knees. Note use of dots—four white ones over left knee and two dark ones in V-shaped fold between legs. The figure was seated on a brown bench or stool, indicated by means of four horizontal lines, the two top ones delimiting the flat area of the seat and the two lower ones pertaining to the front section. Above the seat the background is pure blue.

ii. Between windows 6 and 7, two small fragments reaching to a maximum height of 98 cm above sill (Fig. 53). Fragment on the right mostly border with a tiny corner of blue background and top of brown seat with three dark lines sloping downward to right. Central fragment includes part of right knee. Tunic pink with thin wash of blue; chlamys green with yellow highlights. Near top right edge of fragment is the corner of a yellow book or scroll held vertically.

iii. Between windows 7 and 8, two small bits of painted border and tiny patch of blue background, one on each side of interfenestration.

⁴²Cf. C. Walter, *Art and Ritual of the Byzantine Church* (London, 1982), 9 ff.

⁴³On monastic costume see P. de Meester, "Autour de quelques publications sur les habits des moines," *EphL* 47 (1933), 446–58; idem, *De monachico statu iuxta disciplinam byzantinam* (Vatican City, 1942), 84, 361–62.

2. Window Reveals

These were painted before the interior of the dome. The plaster wiping of the drum area clearly overlaps the finished painting of the reveals.

Window 1 (Fig. 54): Width of design 30.5 cm; height of repeat (two loops) 41 cm. Lower portions destroyed; paint surface somewhat damaged.

Green rinceau with white highlights over black background. Within each loop a red pomegranate. Sprouting from the stem are tadpole-like flowers decorated with white dots. In the angle between each curve of the rinceau is an arrow-shaped leaf with white veins and dots.

Window 2 (Fig. 55): Width of design 32 cm; height of repeat 38–40 cm. Lower portions missing.

Tendrils design within over-all pattern of diamonds placed corner to corner. The design, its lines incised into the plaster, is in black with white outlines against a green background. The tendrils give rise to trefoils with white veins.

Window 3 (Fig. 56): Width of design 34 cm; height of repeat 39–41 cm. Lower portions destroyed and some loss at crown of arch.

Design formed of large crosses, the extremity of whose arms tapers to a sharp point. The crosses are alternately red and black. The red ones have a black disk at the center containing an eight-pointed star in yellow ochre; the black crosses have a red disk with a white star. The arms of each cross are decorated with an S-shaped figure facing right or left, or (in only one case) with hearts. The spaces between the crosses may be described as eight-pointed stars cut in half. They are alternately yellow ochre and dark green, and each one contains half a circular disk with black background and, within the disk, half of a white cross with a red square at its center. The rest of the space is filled with vermiculation.

Window 4 (Fig. 57): Width of design 30.5 cm; height of repeat 37–38 cm. Lower portions destroyed, but generally in good condition.

Loop design in black with white veins on yellow ochre ground. The loops are tied at their intersections and each contains a split palmette. The triangular spaces between the loops are filled with a convoluted stem which in one case terminates in trefoils. The design was first incised freehand into the plaster, but the guidelines have not been followed exactly in the finished painting.

Window 5 (Fig. 58): Width of design 31 cm; height of repeat 35–41 cm. Destroyed at the bottom and some loss at crown of arch; otherwise in fairly good condition.

Vegetal loop design on green background. The loops are tied together with a broad yellow ribbon and are made up of leaves, alternately red and gray. The red leaves have white veins and dark red lines, the gray leaves white veins and dark gray lines. Each loop contains a "Sassanian" palmette on a curving yellow stem and, as a rule, eight small black circles, each one bearing four white dots. In the spaces between the loops is a kind of trefoil, again in red and gray.

Window 6 (Fig. 59): Width of design 30 cm; height of repeat 25–30 cm. Destroyed at the bottom and at crown of arch. Condition generally poor.

Flaring trefoil design on black ground. Out of a red disk with white dots grow three leaves, of which the central one is either cream with white veins or green with yellow veins, while the lateral leaves take the other color. The color scheme alternates. Between each group of three leaves grow two red ones with white veins. In the remaining spaces are circular red florets with white dots.

Window 7 (Fig. 60): Width of design 30 cm; height of repeat 33–35 cm. Destroyed at bottom and at crown of arch. Condition fairly poor.

Similar to No. 3, but smaller in scale.

Window 8 (Fig. 61): Width of design 32 cm; height of repeat 30 cm. Preserved only on left reveal up to the tie-beam, but missing at the bottom; small patch preserved in the arch in sinopia only.

Vegetal diaper pattern on black ground. The pattern is built up of half leaves, alternately green with yellow veins and milky with more intense white veins. Within each diamond is an arrow-shaped leaf of cream color with red veins and white dots. At the intersection of the diamonds is a small disk of cream color.

Window 9: Width ca. 30 cm. Two small patches left at height of beam, but surface paint mostly eroded. Appears to have been a loop design similar to No. 4 in black and white on yellow ochre ground.

Window 10: One small patch left on right reveal. Design indeterminate.

Window 11 (Fig. 62): Width 34 cm; height of repeat 35 cm. Lower half destroyed and considerable loss in the arch. Condition poor.

The pattern is, fundamentally, of diaper type and consists of elongated octagons with four long and four short sides. In the middle of each, or possibly every second octagon, is a red disk, its circumference studded with white dots, containing a quatrefoil with two black leaves marked with white veins and two dark green leaves with yellow ochre

veins. The octagons are joined on their short sides by white squares, each containing a simplified four-petaled fleuron. The half octagons on either side are alternately yellow ochre and dark green and contain a similar decoration.

Window 12 (Fig. 63): Width of design 31 cm; height of repeats ca. 37 cm. Preserved largely in arch of window and continuing for a short space below tie-beam. Condition rather poor.

Tendrill design in white on black ground forming loops and heart-shaped convolutions. The tendrill gives rise to three-petaled flowers of which two are bright red and one green or the reverse. The red petals have white highlights and the green petals yellow ones.

B. Apse and Bema

The collapse of the central part of the apse, including most of the semidome, caused such severe damage to the decoration that only a small number of fragments are preserved. Enough survives, however, to identify the elements of the decorative program if not all the details. In the conch of the apse (Fig. 64), against a dark blue background, were two standing archangels, holding orb and staff, who flanked a central figure, no doubt of the Virgin Mary, which is entirely lost. Below was a row of bishops proceeding from the bema into the apse. Life-size, dressed in luminous pale garments, and holding their scrolls open before them, they turn toward the east and converge on the center of the apse in a slow movement. Originally there must have been at least eight, but only the two at the entrance of the bema survive, one each on the north and south walls. There is space for two more on the walls of the bema and four more in the apse, two on each side of the windows. It is unlikely that the space between the windows was wide enough to accommodate additional full-scale figures of bishops, although it is possible that smaller figures were inserted as they were in other churches (e.g., Lagoudera). Above the standing bishops, in the bema only, was a row of busts of saints enclosed in rectangular ochre frames. Fragments of two are preserved, one each on the north and south walls, but originally there could have been four on each side. A further series of bishops, probably in bust, was displayed on the face of the apse; only one remains today. Finally, there was an Ascension in the vault of the bema, with the apostles divided into two groups in the usual manner, six on each side, gazing up toward Christ in a mandorla carried by four angels.

Around the lowest zone of both apse and bema ran a painted dado (height ca. 80–90 cm) simulating a marble revetment composed of rectangular panels enclosing circular disks. Only four fragments of the dado are preserved, one at the base of the north wall of the bema, below the standing bishop, two on the north side of the apse proper, and a fourth in the southeast corner of the bema, extending over both the face of the apse arch and the south wall of the bema. The first consists of an outer border of gray striped “marble,” veined in red, inlaid with a pink “marble” slab within a narrow white frame. Those on the north wall of the apse show a panel of banded green “marble” with red veining, inlaid with a yellow-brown disk within a white and red serrated frame. The fragment at the southeast corner of the bema was similar in design, consisting of gray and pink striped “marble” with red veining, mitred at the corners and inlaid with a disk (now lost) enclosed in a black and white serrated frame.

On a preliminary wipe of plaster on the north side of the apse, just above floor level, may be seen a cross with double outline drawn in black paint with the following letters in the four quarters: κ | $\chi\xi$ | ϵ | $\tau\kappa$ (Fig. 65).⁴⁴ This would subsequently have been covered by the painted dado.

1. Semidome of Apse

In the conch of the apse, three narrow fragments containing parts of the figures of the two archangels are preserved along the western edge. The fragment on the left (1.04 × 0.30 m), in very poor condition, shows part of the red border and dark blue background. All one can make out of the archangel is the outer edge of his right wing, which comes within 2 cm of the border, and a large orb (diameter ca. 25 cm), dark gray with lighter gray curving lines, simulating crystal, which he must have held in his right hand. The outer edge of the wing is in reddish brown underpainting, beneath which is a dark gray triangular area with faint traces of feather lines in lighter gray. Below that is an area of darker red-brown with feather lines, presumably representing the innermost feathers.

Two fragments in an equally poor state of preservation are all that remain of the archangel on the

⁴⁴The exact meaning of all these letters is unclear to us. The initials TK, usually followed by ΠΓ, are interpreted as τόπος κρανίου παράδεισος γέγονε. See G. Millet, J. Pargoire, and L. Petit, *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de l'Athos* (Paris, 1904), nos. 212, 543; N. I. Giannopoulos, *Αἱ παλαιαὶ ἐκκλησιαὶ Τρικάλων*, BZ 27 (1927), 360.

south side. The upper one (height 38 cm, width 28 cm) includes some red border and blue background. The rest is an indistinct area of pink and green underpainting, possibly representing part of the wing. A small patch of blue in the lower left corner may be more background. On the lower fragment (height 48 cm, width 30 cm) is part of the staff that was held in the archangel's left hand. It is yellow ochre with a white line along the right side. Red underpainting is visible through the surface paint.

2. *Apse Windows*

A small area of painted ornament on a dark blue background is preserved near the soffit in the right reveal of the south window (height 58 cm, width 29 cm). It includes the red border at the back of the window and an ornamental design that is extremely faint due to long exposure to the elements. It appears to be a rinceau of leafy fronds whose color is obliterated, but which had alternately white and yellow veins. In the center of each loop of the rinceau is a red pomegranate on a long stem (cf. dome window 1).

3. *Face of Apse*

In the southeast corner of the bema, at a height of 3.24 m from the present floor, is a fragment of painting (preserved height 88 cm) extending from the face of the apse onto the south wall of the bema. The section on the bema wall (maximum width 21 cm) consists only of the vertical red border in the corner and part of the lower horizontal border of the Ascension that was in the vault above. The part on the face of the apse (preserved width 40 cm) contains the figure of a bishop from just below the eyes to about the level of his elbows (Fig. 66). Whether this was a full-length or half-length figure is not immediately apparent. His head is turned very slightly toward the apse. His brown beard, which, exceptionally, is outlined in white, is divided into two strands by means of black lines and comes to a point well below the collarbone. He is dressed in a chocolate brown mantle; white *epitrachelion* (visible on either side of the neck), decorated with small black crosses between double transverse lines; and cream-colored *omophorion* with a white border, decorated with big black crosses, of which only the one on the left shoulder remains. The top of the *omophorion* was repainted 1.5 cm higher, but the added strip has flaked off. In his left hand the bishop held a book with a yellow ochre cover, on which some traces of gilding remain.

4. *Vault of Bema: Ascension*

Two long and narrow fragments remain along the western edge of the vault (Fig. 67). That on the north side (maximum preserved width 43 cm) starts at the springing of the vault and continues past the crown. In the lower part, next to a length of vertical red border, are the figures of two apostles in rather poor condition (Fig. 69). The apostle on the left (height 1.20 m), who was probably beardless, is shown in a contorted three-quarter back view. He throws his head sharply back and shields his eyes with his right hand. The vigorous gesture leaves his right forearm exposed as the sleeve of his tunic falls below the elbow. His left arm, pressed against the back of his body, indents the red border. He wears a gray tunic and yellow-brown chlamys with highlights in a dilute white wash. The chlamys is wrapped round the waist, where it becomes darker, leaves the right shoulder exposed, and is thrown over the left shoulder, the end falling down to his thigh. The head is nearly all destroyed; the left foot is visible in underpainting.

Next to him is a second apostle, standing more or less in profile and looking up toward the ascending Christ. The right half of the figure and both arms are missing. He wears a gray tunic and a purplish brown chlamys with dilute white highlights and darker brown shadows. Traces remain of his left sandaled foot seen in profile.

On the south side of the vault, only one apostle remains next to the vertical red border (Fig. 70). While moving toward the west, he turns his head and shoulders in the opposite direction. His right arm, which is missing, must have been raised above the shoulder. In his left hand he holds a tied scroll. The head is almost completely obliterated. It appears to have been beardless and had short brown hair down to the nape of the neck. The apostle wears a gray tunic with a red clavus following the outline of his left leg, which is seen in profile, a device frequently used by our painter. Note also the three black dots over the left knee. The chlamys is light green with white highlights, except for the fold across the waist and the hem hanging down between the legs, which are brown with yellow-brown highlights. This distinctive device, whereby the shaded area of a garment is in sharp contrast to that of its principal color, occurs in several other figures. It is quite clear from the fold lines that the darker areas are not part of another garment.

In the crown of the vault are small fragments of

the two westernmost angels who upheld the mandorla of Christ (Fig. 68). That on the north is represented by a small bit of the rim of his halo, his raised right arm, which is bare to the elbow, and the right wing, which extends out toward the west. The top feathers are red-brown and the lower ones in two tones of red, a deep red and a bright red, both highlighted in white. The angel wears a light green chlamys with the usual white highlights over a gray tunic. One end of the chlamys billows in serpentine folds down the back.

The angel on the south side is completely lost, except for the left arm from the elbow to the wrist and the faint indication of the tip of one wing which extended straight out to the west.

It may be noted that, as also in the dome, the background was of pure blue pigment. Elsewhere in the church it consists of a blue wash over a black ground.

5. Standing Bishops

Of the procession of bishops, as already stated, only the two westernmost ones remain (Figs. 71, 75). The one on the north wall of the bema (Figs. 72–74, color pl. 1a) has the features usually associated with St. Basil, although we would expect Basil to have been placed much nearer to the center of the apse.⁴⁵ The nameless bishop (height of fragment 1.48 m, width 61 cm, diameter of halo 36.5 cm) is preserved to below his knees. The surface is somewhat pitted, and in places the cartoon drawing is visible beneath the paint. The bishop has short dark brown hair, parted in the center, where it forms two lobes over the forehead, and a medium long pointed beard. His face is exceptionally well preserved and illustrates the care and detail with which the features were executed. The eyes are outlined in red along the upper lid, while the eyelashes and shadow lines are in black. The black pupil is clearly defined within a brown iris, and the whites are shaded with green. The bishop has a hooked nose, with the nostrils outlined in red and black, and sharply delineated eyebrows with a characteristic V-fold between them. He wears a light gray tunic with yellow ochre cuffs and a pale green mantle with white highlights and seven white dots just below the right shoulder. The *omophorion*, cream-colored with white edging, is decorated with three black crosses. It is knotted in

front, below the neck and falls down the back. The extended scroll, which was held with both hands, bears the following text taken from the prayer of the first antiphon of St. Basil's liturgy:⁴⁶ [Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ θ(εὸς) ἡ[μ]ω[ν οὖ] | τὸ κρ[άτος] | ἀνείκαστο[ν] | καὶ ἡ δόξα | ἀκατάληπτος· οὐ τὸ | ἔλεος ἀμετρητόν.

On the south wall of the bema, opposite the first bishop, is a second full-length bishop (Figs. 76–78, color pl. 1b). The fresco is here preserved from the horizontal red border above him to a little below his knees (height 2.10 m, width 61 cm). On the masonry below and to the right of the figure is a cross with the sigla of Jesus Christ, thus $\overline{\text{IC}} | \overline{\text{XC}}$, and to the left of the figure, at the level of the knees, is a capital B, all in red paint. The condition of the bishop's garments is quite good, but the surface paint of the face and halo has been considerably eroded, and most of the lettering on the scroll has been rubbed off.

The bishop has gray-green hair parted in the middle, where it forms a double lobe over the forehead, and reaching down to the nape of the neck, where it is tufted. His long pointed beard is divided into two strands, with a well-defined "inverted pear" form over the chin. He wears a pale pink tunic which is visible both at the neck and at the knees, where it is highlighted with five white dots under the left knee. The cuff is yellow ochre as is also the *epitrachelion*, which shows on either side of the neck and is decorated with double black lines. The mantle is pale green, shaded with yellow-brown and highlighted in white, with six white dots placed vertically over the left arm. The *omophorion* is cream-colored with a white edging and is decorated with four black crosses. It is Y-shaped in front, with the other end falling down the back. Although the inscription on the scroll is nearly completely obliterated, it may be identified as the prayer of the catechumens in the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, arranged as follows:⁴⁷ [Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ θ(εὸς) ἡ[μ]ω[ν ὁ] ἐν | ὑψηλοῖς | κατοικῶν | κ(αὶ) τὰ ταπεινὰ | ἐφο[ρῶν] ὁ | τ[ῆν] σ(ωτη)ρίαν | τῷ γένει τῶν | ἀν[θ(ρωπ)]ων ἑξάπο[ς] | στεῖλ[ας].

6. Bema: Framed Busts

Above the procession of bishops in the bema, in a register beginning 7 cm above the horizontal red

⁴⁵He may have been St. Gregory of Nyssa, whose iconographic features resembled those of St. Basil, as noted by "Elpios the Roman," ed. M. Chatzidakis, *Ἑπ. Ἑτ. Βυζ. Σπ.* 14 (1938), 413.

⁴⁶F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western* (Oxford, 1896), 310.16. Cf. G. Babić and C. Walter, "The Inscriptions upon Liturgical Rolls in Byzantine Apse Decoration," *REB* 34 (1976), 271, 273.

⁴⁷Brightman, *op. cit.*, 315.12.

border, was a series of rectangular panels with yellow ochre frames (ca. 4 cm wide), each enclosing the bust of a saint (bishop?). Originally, there appear to have been four on each side, but traces of only two out of the eight remain. The fragment on the south side of the bema (height 44 cm, width 47 cm), although the better preserved, is in very poor condition (Fig. 79). The saint had short gray-green hair combed away from the central parting, leaving the stylized ears exposed. His beard was short and rounded. The halo, as usual, is yellow ochre, outlined in white and red on the outer circumference. In the corresponding position on the north wall is a yet more fragmentary panel (preserved height 30 cm, width 27 cm), of which only the underpainting of the lower right part of the bust and the yellow ochre frame survive.

C. Eastern Piers

The decoration of the west face of the eastern piers, below the tie-beams that reinforce the main north and south arches, was in three registers (Figs. 80, 83). Starting at the top, these were: (1) the Annunciation, divided, as usual, into two halves, with Gabriel on the north pier and the Virgin Mary on the south pier; (2) a rectangular panel, very nearly 2 m tall and 1 m wide (including its borders); and (3) a dedicatory inscription in the place of a dado. At some time the original composition of the second register was hacked away, and the wall was replastered and covered with a very large wooden icon. Simultaneously, the dedicatory inscriptions were concealed.

1. *The Annunciation* (Fig. 81)

On the north pier is an incomplete figure of Gabriel striding to right on a strip of (originally) green ground (preserved height 80 cm, width 84 cm). Head missing; right arm extended (hand missing); left hand clasps chlamys, whose fluttering end falls over it. The wing has lost most of its surface paint, except for the inside feathers, which are red with white lines. Gabriel wears a gray tunic with white highlights and two red clavi on the right shoulder which reappear below the chlamys over the right foot. A single clavus outlines the outer contour of the left leg—a device we have already met in both the dome and the Ascension. The chlamys is in two colors, a light purple brown highlighted in white, and a darker chocolate brown around the waist and along the hem, descending diagonally to the right foot.

Almost nothing remains of the corresponding

figure of the Virgin Mary on the south pier, except a small area of paint along the right side (height 50 cm, width 10 cm), including the vertical red border and part of the strip of ground, originally green, but now gray. Over this is a patch of red, probably pertaining to a building behind the Virgin.

2. *Second Register*

What little is left of it can be studied only on the south pier (Fig. 84). Immediately above the inscription is a double border, white on the outside and black on the inside, enclosing a zone of green ground, 83 cm wide and preserved to a maximum height of 16 cm. Pretty nearly in the center of the green ground is the toe of a shoe or slipper painted brown. Two deep dowel holes have been cut into the green ground, just above the black border, one on the right, the other on the left.

The remainder of the original composition was deliberately cut out and even some of the masonry hacked away for the application of a very large wooden icon (1.78 × 1.01 m) that had a diagonal cross-brace at the back and, possibly, a horizontal brace at the top. The icon was secured at the bottom by means of two iron pins, one on the right, the other on the left. When the icon was inserted, the wall below it, including the inscription, was given a thick coating of hard plaster, over which was placed a stone or marble slab, attached by means of copper cramps, one cramp remaining in the upper right corner and three along the white line at the base of the inscription panel. A second slab was placed perpendicular to the first along the south wall of the church, thus covering part of the dado, which appears to have been damaged because it had to be faced up with lime plaster before the slab was added. Above the two vertical slabs, set at a right angle, was laid a horizontal stone shelf that extended at least 43 cm from the west face of the pier (Fig. 85).

We assume that a wooden icon was likewise attached to the north pier, but it does not seem to have had any braces at the back.

The above evidence raises some interesting problems of interpretation. The two panels of the second register, flanking as they do the templon, would normally have been occupied by images of Christ and the Virgin Mary or, as for example, at Nerezi, of the patron saint and the Virgin Mary.⁴⁸

⁴⁸See G. Babić, "O živopisanom ukrasu oltarskih pregrada," *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti* 11 (1975), 14 ff.

But neither Christ nor the Virgin Mary could have worn brown shoes and there can be no question of a patron saint, since the church was dedicated to the Holy Trinity. Furthermore, the owner of the brown shoes, being placed centrally in the panel, could not have been a subsidiary figure. We are left with the admittedly abnormal possibility of a donor portrait representing Eumathios Philokales. If such, indeed, was the image on the south pier, we can well understand that it was judged to be unsuitable and replaced by a more traditional representation. The deliberate concealment of the founder's inscription (thanks to which it has survived in excellent condition) seems to indicate not merely indifference, but a measure of hostility to his memory; and if that was so, we can further conclude that the alteration took place not too long after his demise, say in the course of the twelfth century.

In the absence of any evidence, it is idle to speculate what image was painted in the second register of the north pier.

3. The Inscriptions

a. South Pier (Fig. 84)

Height of panel 67 cm, width 88 cm. Height of letters 5 cm. White letters on blue background. Lines ruled top and bottom. The end of each verse was marked with a dot.

+ Τὴν ἐν προσώπῳ⁴⁹ τρισὶ προσκυνουμένην
 ἀναρχὸν ἀρχὴν ὑπεράρχιον φύσιν·
 ἀμαχὸν ἀλκὴν ὑπερούσιον μόνην·
 ποθὼν σφόδρα σε δοῦξ Κύπρου Φιλοκάλ(ης)
 5 Εὐμάθιος πρωτιστος νωβελλισίμων·
 βάρων ἀπ' αὐτῶν τὸν νεὼν ἤγειρε σοι·
 πρὸς ἐξιλασμὸν ὧν κακῶς παρεσφάλῃ.

That is: "Loving Thee greatly, O Thou Who art worshipped in three persons—principle without beginning, nature primordial, might invincible, alone transcending all substance—the dux of Cyprus Eumathios Philokales, the very first among the nobilissimi, built unto Thee this church from the very foundations to expiate the wrongs he has erred in committing."

b. North Pier (Fig. 82)

Exact dimensions of panel unknown, parts of the border being preserved only at the right and

at the bottom. We may postulate seven verses of dodecasyllables as on the south pier. Height of letters 5 cm; lines of writing ruled top and bottom. The restitutions we have proposed are *exempli gratia*.

.
 [ἀναρχ]ε Τριας
 ον ἀνήγειρα
 [Εὐ]μαθ[ι]ος δοῦξ κ[αί]
 5 [τῶ]ν νωβελλισίμων [πρωτιστος τῇ τάξει]
 ε λοιπὸν

The meaning of the inscription must have been similar to that on the south pier, with the slight difference that it was put in the first person.

D. The South Wall (Fig. 38)

The original disposition of the paintings can be approximately reconstructed on the analogy of the north wall (see below, p. 82). The surviving portions represent about one-eighth of the painted surface and are limited to the soffit of the arch, a huge Anastasis occupying the lowest register of the wall and some remnants of the dado beneath it.

1. Soffit of Arch (Fig. 90)

The soffit of the south arch (width 92 cm) contained seven medallions, each enclosing the bust of a saint, of which only the westernmost one is well preserved. The medallions were 72–74 cm in diameter, including the yellow-ochre frame (ca. 3 cm wide) which was outlined with an inner black line and an outer white line. The background of the soffit was blue-black and that of the medallions alternately green and red, starting on both sides with green. The haloes of all the saints were yellow ochre, outlined in white and red-brown along the outer circumference.

Medallion 1 (from the east): Only the lower half remains plus a tiny edge of the upper frame (Fig. 91). The head is lost from the neck up, but it is clear that the saint (a martyr) was beardless. In his right hand he holds a white cross, its arms terminating in serifs and balls, while the left hand is raised with the palm out. He wears a gray tunic with yellow ochre cuffs and a wide collar extending to his shoulders and terminating in three tongues, one of which is visible over the right shoulder. The collar was gilded and decorated with a pattern of roundels in red-brown paint. The red chlamys has a yellow *tablion* (originally gilded and probably decorated) and is fastened on the right shoulder

⁴⁹ *Recte* προσώποις.

with a round fibula ornamented with a circle of white dots (pearls) with a single dot in the center.

Medallion 2: Only the lower quarter survives and that in a ruinous condition (Fig. 92). All one can see is that the saint wore a gray mantle over a light green tunic, that he blessed with his right hand, and held a book with a gilded cover in his covered left hand. The *tranche* of the book is red as was the ground of the medallion.

Medallion 3: Only the left half is preserved in a badly eroded condition (Fig. 93). Of the inscription only the traces of an *alpha* survive to the left of the saint's head. He had long brown hair falling over his shoulders and a pointed brown beard. He wears a light green chlamys, fastened on his right shoulder over a red tunic with a broad yellow collar terminating in a tongue over the right shoulder.

Medallion 4: Nearly all the surface paint is lost. All one can see is that the figure faced toward the center of the church, like all other medallions placed centrally in a soffit.

Medallion 5: Entirely lost except for a tiny segment of the lower outline.

Medallion 6: Most of it is preserved, but in badly eroded condition (Fig. 94). The saint (a martyr) had medium length brown hair partly covering his ears and may have had a short beard. He wore a pale green tunic with yellow ochre cuffs and a wide ochre collar terminating in three tongues, one over the chest and one over each shoulder, all originally gilded and patterned. A dark red-brown chlamys is fastened over the chest with a clasp of the same color decorated with a crosslet of five white dots. The chlamys hangs symmetrically over the shoulders and is thrown over the back. The martyr holds a white cross in his right hand (of the same form as in Medallion 1) and raises his left hand with the palm out. To the left of the figure the word $\text{A}|\Gamma|\text{I}|\text{O}\varsigma$ is visible.

Medallion 7: Some loss at the top (painted in by us) and at the bottom and right, including both hands (Figs. 95–96). The bust is of a deacon, very probably St. Vincent, judging by the traces of the inscription: $[\text{O A}] \Gamma \text{I} \text{O}[\varsigma] \parallel \text{BI} | . . \text{N} . .$. Youthful and beardless, he has finely delineated wavy brown hair partly covering his ears. The eyes are well preserved, with black pupils, brown iris, and whites shaded with green. Over a dark red-brown tunic he wears a yellow-brown surplice with dilute white highlights. A white *oraron*, decorated with a small cross between double black lines, falls over his left shoulder. In his right hand he held a cross, which may have been white but survives only in red un-

derpaint. The left hand appears to have held a box with a rounded lid.

2. *The Anastasis* (Figs. 86–89, color pl. 6a)

Covering the entire south wall east of the door leading into the south church and up to a projecting cornice (originally an external feature of the earlier church) was a large composition of the Anastasis (height 2.85 m, preserved width 2.01 m). Because the present door is placed incorrectly near the center of the wall, the composition appears cut off on the right. If, however, the door were placed farther to the west, in a position corresponding to that in the north wall, enough room would be provided for the figures of Adam and Eve. The complete width of the panel would have been about 2.70 m.

The remaining parts of the composition include the towering but fragmentary figure of Christ in the center, the prophets David, Solomon, and John the Baptist on the left and one hand of Adam reaching up to Christ on the right. Two flying angels, three-quarter length, approach from the upper left corner. The condition of the painting is uneven. A strip along the left side, ca. 30 cm wide, is very well preserved, but the surface paint is progressively eroded as one moves to the right.

Of the figure of Christ there remain only the head and a portion of the body from the hips to a little below the right knee. Shown in a three-quarter view, he strides toward the west, his missing right arm probably reaching across his chest toward Adam, his left holding a cross staff in a vertical position. The head survives mainly in cartoon drawing, in red ochre with a yellow ochre wash. The cross in the nimbus is defined by double black lines, each arm being decorated with five pellets in the form of an X. Over a yellow ochre tunic, which is visible at the neck and above the left knee, Christ wears a pale green chlamys, modeled exclusively in white. Both a dilute wash and thick white lines are used, and there are three white dots above the left knee. The absence of dark lines or shadows lends a particular luminosity to the figure. The cross staff is depicted three-dimensionally, yellow ochre on the right, shading to a dark red-brown on the left.

In all likelihood, Christ was shown actually raising Adam from his tomb. Only the back of Adam's left hand and forearm and a tiny corner of his right wrist survive, enough to indicate that his arms were extended, the right raised well above the left and reaching up to Christ. Adam wore a gray tunic, visible on the left arm, and a light pur-

plish brown chlamys that was thrown over the right arm, its fluttering tail reappearing below the left wrist. No trace of Eve survives.

To the left of Christ, standing in a stiff row in the same sarcophagus, are the three prophets, John the Baptist, David, and Solomon. They are identical in height (1.01 m including the crowns) and have haloes of equal diameter (29 cm). The rigid execution of these figures stands in marked contrast to the delicate workmanship of the figure of Christ and of most of the other figures in the church.

John the Baptist is shown with his usual unruly hair and straggly beard. His head, which has lost much of its surface paint, is placed somewhat off-center with regard to his nimbus and is turned away from Christ, while the right arm points toward Christ in a particularly awkward gesture. In his left hand John holds a folded scroll. His tunic, which is tied at the waist, is yellow-brown with red-brown shadow lines and has a double black clavus over the right shoulder. The mantle is olive-brown, trimmed all round with a border of gray-green fur with white hairs, and is fastened over the chest by a curious white knot of another material.

Scratched in the background between the figures of Christ and the Baptist is a graffito consisting of an escutcheon with a rock(?) and three stars between the letters A and M. It is dated 15 April 1506.

David and Solomon stand in identical poses, their left arms raised in the same awkward vertical position, and are dressed in the same costume, the only difference, apart from the colors, being that David's chlamys is fastened on his left shoulder and Solomon's on his right shoulder. In both cases the chlamys falls in a strictly vertical line from the fibula. The two prophets wear identical crowns composed of six "gold" (yellow ochre) plaques set with narrow rectangular stones that are alternately red and blue, the color remaining only in Solomon's crown. Above the center is set a spray of three large pear-shaped pearls, and on each side of the crown is another large pearl. Small pearls decorate the borders of the rectangular plaques and a pair of perpendulia, also set with pearls, hang from the sides of the crown.

David has medium length gray-green hair and a short rounded beard indented in the center and curling over the cheeks. His pale green tunic with white highlights is slightly darker than Christ's and has a wide yellow collar and yellow cuffs. He wears a dark blue chlamys with black fold lines adorned with an ochre *tablion* on which no decoration re-

mains. The collar and *tablion* are placed corner to corner so that a single curving line defines the bottom of the former and the top of the latter.

Squeezed into the extreme left of the composition in a space too narrow to accommodate him properly is the figure of Solomon, whose right shoulder and elbow are cut off by the border, whereas his halo, which was gilded, overlaps the border, although the painter made a half-hearted attempt to bring it within the panel by means of a second dark outline over the yellow which he did not complete. Youthful and beardless, Solomon has full, straight brown hair, highlighted in yellow. He wears a gray tunic with yellow ochre cuffs and a wide collar on which traces of gilding and red figuring remain. His chlamys is red-brown and is fastened with a small round clasp on his left shoulder. The yellow *tablion*, redrawn slightly smaller than at first intended, was originally gilded and decorated with red figuring.

The sarcophagus in which the three prophets stand is made up of two slabs of marble. The top one is pink with horizontal red stripes and random veins in dark red, while the bottom panel is diagonally striped green and white with green veins. Below the sarcophagus is an area of black ground representing Hell.

To the left of Christ's head are two flying angels cut off at their thighs, both holding their veiled hands before them. The one nearer to Christ is in poor condition, with only small areas of surface paint preserved; the rest is in underdrawing. He wore a pink tunic with a black clavus over the right shoulder and a light green chlamys, which is drawn over the left arm and hangs down with a floating tail. The wings are barely visible; the left one was drawn up behind the halo, while the right one was extended toward the back, its tip passing behind the halo of the second angel.

The angel on the left is better preserved, especially his garments, but the hands, most of the face, and both wings are gone. Over a pale green tunic with a black clavus on the right shoulder he wears a light purple-brown chlamys, highlighted in white with darker brown shadows and a few black fold lines. The chlamys is drawn over the left shoulder and its tail reappears in front, below the hands.

3. The Dado

Only a small fragment is preserved at the east end of the wall, but originally it must have extended along its entire length, minus the door. The panel (height 82 cm, preserved width 51 cm) consists of a rectangular frame of gray and white

striped "marble," veined in red, which encloses a yellow panel, also veined in red, the latter inlaid with a dark circular disk within a black and white serrated frame. Surrounding the entire panel is a narrow white band, mitred at the corners.

E. The North Wall (Fig. 97)

Paintings survive only along the outer rim of the wall as well as in the soffit of the arch and the soffit of the north door. On the wall itself are remnants of four compositions arranged in three registers, namely, the Betrayal in the lunette; very probably the Judgment of Pilate and the Road to Calvary in the middle zone; and a huge Crucifixion in the lowest zone forming a pendant to the Anastasis opposite. No trace remains of the dado.

1. Soffit of Arch (Fig. 98)

As on the south side, there were seven medallions in the soffit (diameter 72–74 cm) in yellow ochre frames, each enclosing the bust of a nimbed saint, and alternating green and red backgrounds, beginning on each side with green. Three are in relatively good condition, but none preserves enough of the inscription for any of the saints to be identified with certainty.

Medallion 1 (from the east): Bust of a monk, his head and collar in fairly good condition, the rest of the figure being in cartoon drawing (Fig. 99). He has gray-green hair with a tuft combed forward over the forehead, bushy eyebrows highlighted in white, and a long beard coming to a point over his chest, divided into two strands, with a pear-shaped form over the chin. Chocolate-brown collar and scapular decorated with crosslets of dots between double white lines; mantle a warm brown. Right hand blesses, while the left held a scroll.

Medallion 2: Main outlines of figure visible, but most of the surface eroded (Fig. 100). Youthful medical saint (presumably Cosmas or Damian) with short brown hair, highlighted with yellow lines, forming a single lobe in the middle of the forehead; short beard and moustache. Light green tunic with long, full sleeves and chocolate-brown sleeveless mantle with a fold draped over the left wrist. On either side of the neck a white collar is visible. Left hand holds a tubular red object, right hand a lancet.

Medallion 3: Head and neck in fairly good condition, the rest of the figure and background eroded; segments of medallion lost on right and left (Fig. 101). Bust of priest with gray-green hair,

accented with red-brown lines, parted in the center, with two lobes combed forward; medium length beard divided into two strands. Yellow-brown tunic with red fold lines and yellow cuff edged with a single black line. White *epitrachelion* decorated with small black crosses between double black lines; chocolate-brown *phelonion*. Blesses with right hand, palm in, while in veiled left hand he holds a book, secured by means of two clasps, with yellow ochre cover and red pages.

Medallion 4: Only a segment of the frame and part of the red background survive.

Medallion 5: Lost.

Medallion 6: Almost entirely destroyed. All one can distinguish is the faint outline of the halo and a red, scroll-like object held in the left hand. One of the garments was light green and the cuff over the right wrist was yellow.

Medallion 7: Considerable damage to background and border, but figure fairly well preserved (Fig. 102). Bust of medical saint with faint traces of letter M or N to right of halo (which would fit either Cosmas or Damian). Triangular, somewhat emaciated face with brown, tufted hair, highlighted with yellow, leaving the ears exposed, but reaching down to the nape of the neck, where it forms three curls below the ears. Short reddish brown beard in two lobes and small moustache. Gray tunic with long, full sleeves and yellow cuff; narrow white collar on either side of the neck; sleeveless, chocolate-brown mantle, one end of which is draped over the left arm. Right hand holds lancet, left hand a pink tubular object. The halo was originally drawn slightly lower, then moved up.

2. Upper Register of Wall: The Betrayal (Fig. 103)

The lunette was occupied by a single composition (height at centre 1.31 m, width at base 3.80 m), which survives only along its outer circumference. Top center is the inscription [ἡ προδ]οστα.

What remains of the scene is in rather poor condition and is further confused by the fact that it was painted in two layers. It appears that before the composition was completed its design was significantly altered so as to move a number of figures some 40–45 cm to the right. Evidence of the change is clearly visible where the thin layer of replastering fell down in a small area a little to the right of center, revealing the outlines of two figures which are repeated in the upper layer, namely, that of the nimbed prophet (moved in the upper layer to the extreme right) and a led



1a. Bema, North wall, bishop



1b. Bema, South wall, bishop



2. Northwest pier, East face, Moses



3. Southwest pier, East face, Ezekiel



4. Southwest recess, Lunette



5. Northwest recess, general view



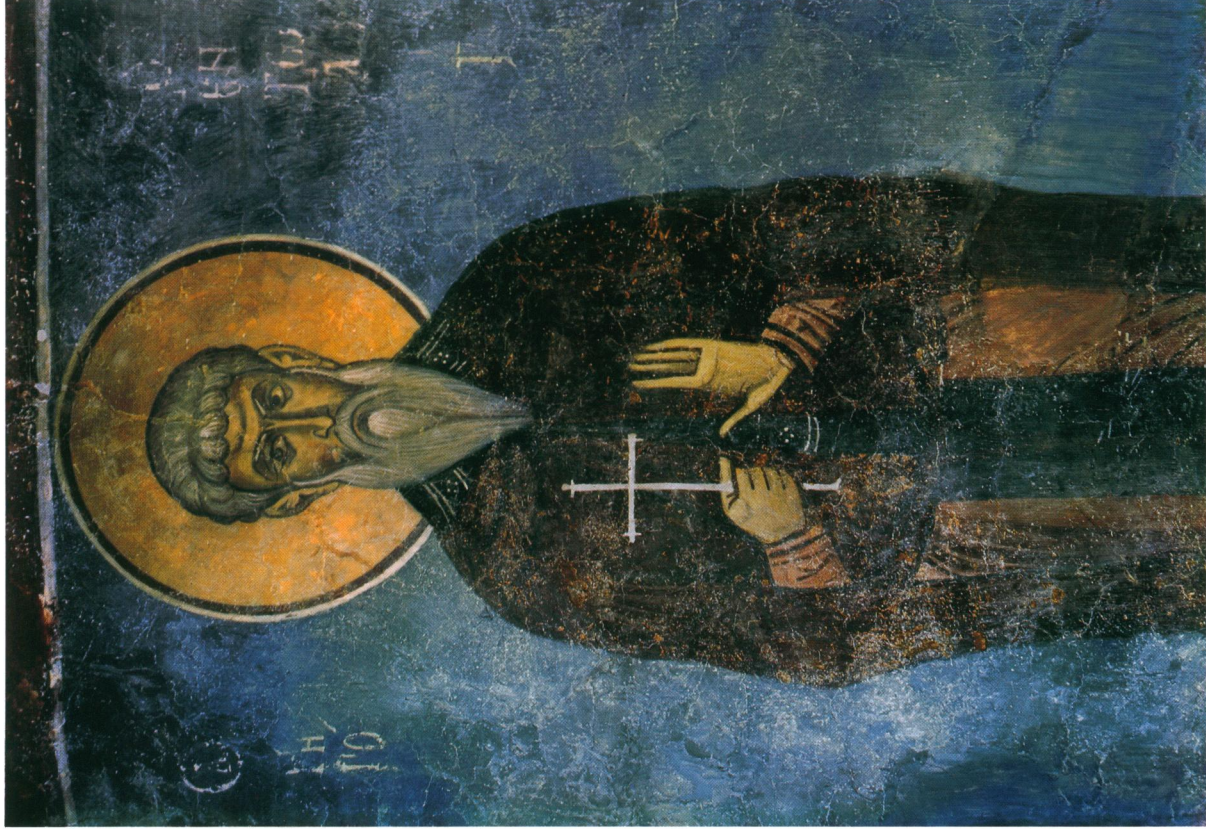
6a. South wall, Anastasis



6b. West vault, North side, Koimesis



7a. Northwest recess, Window, West side,
St. Gregory of the Homerites



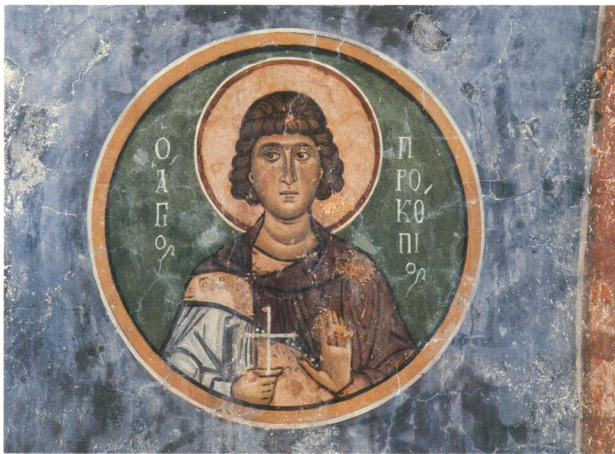
7b. Northwest recess, Window, East side,
St. Gregory of Akritas



a. St. Demetrios



b. St. George

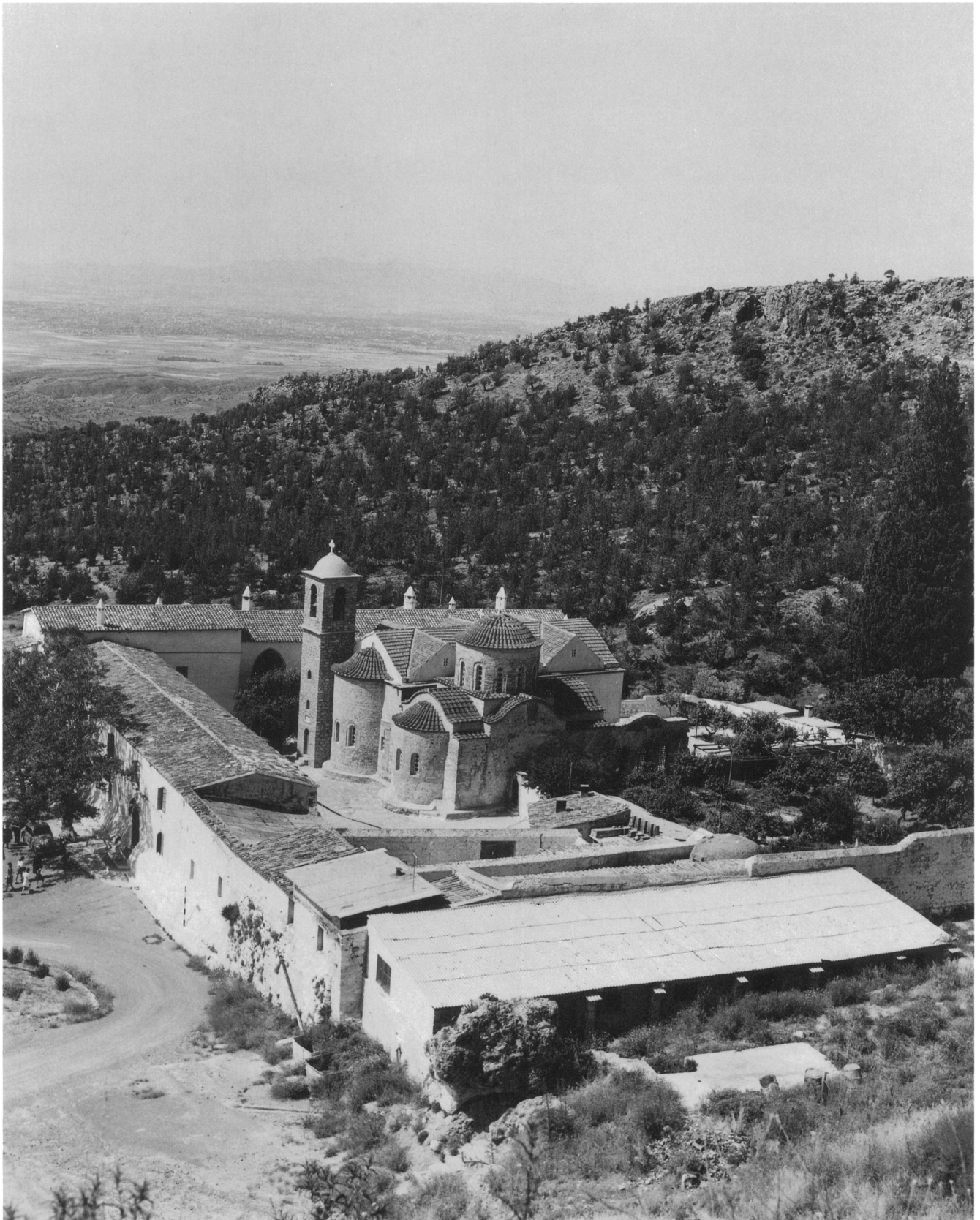


c. St. Prokopios

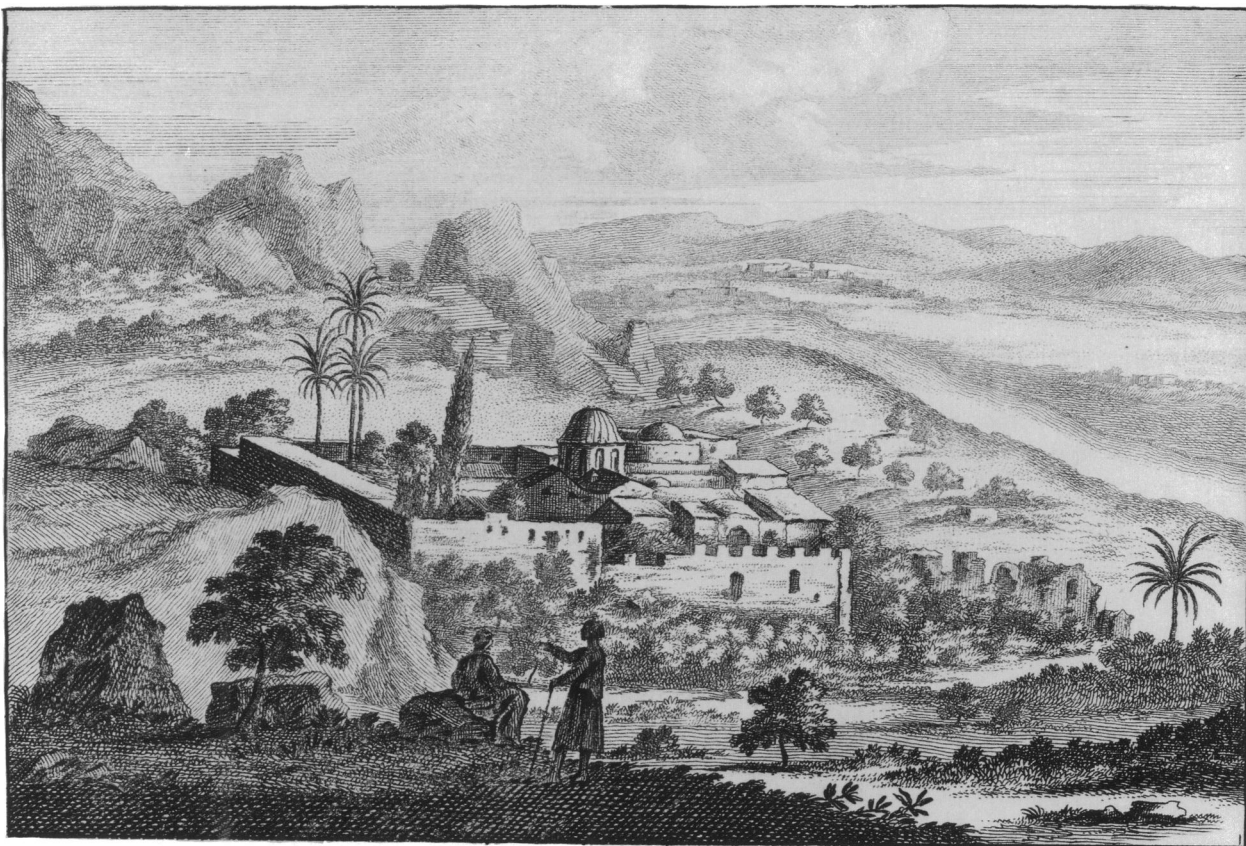


d. St. Eusignios

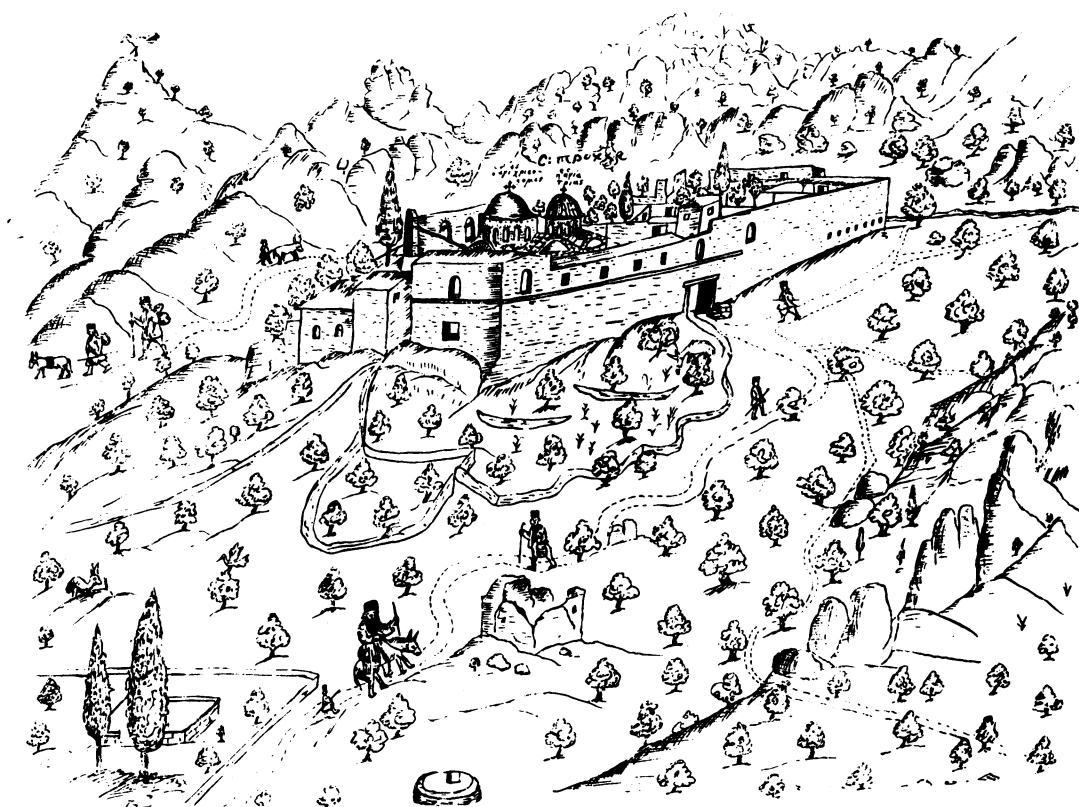
8. Southwest recess, Soffit of arch



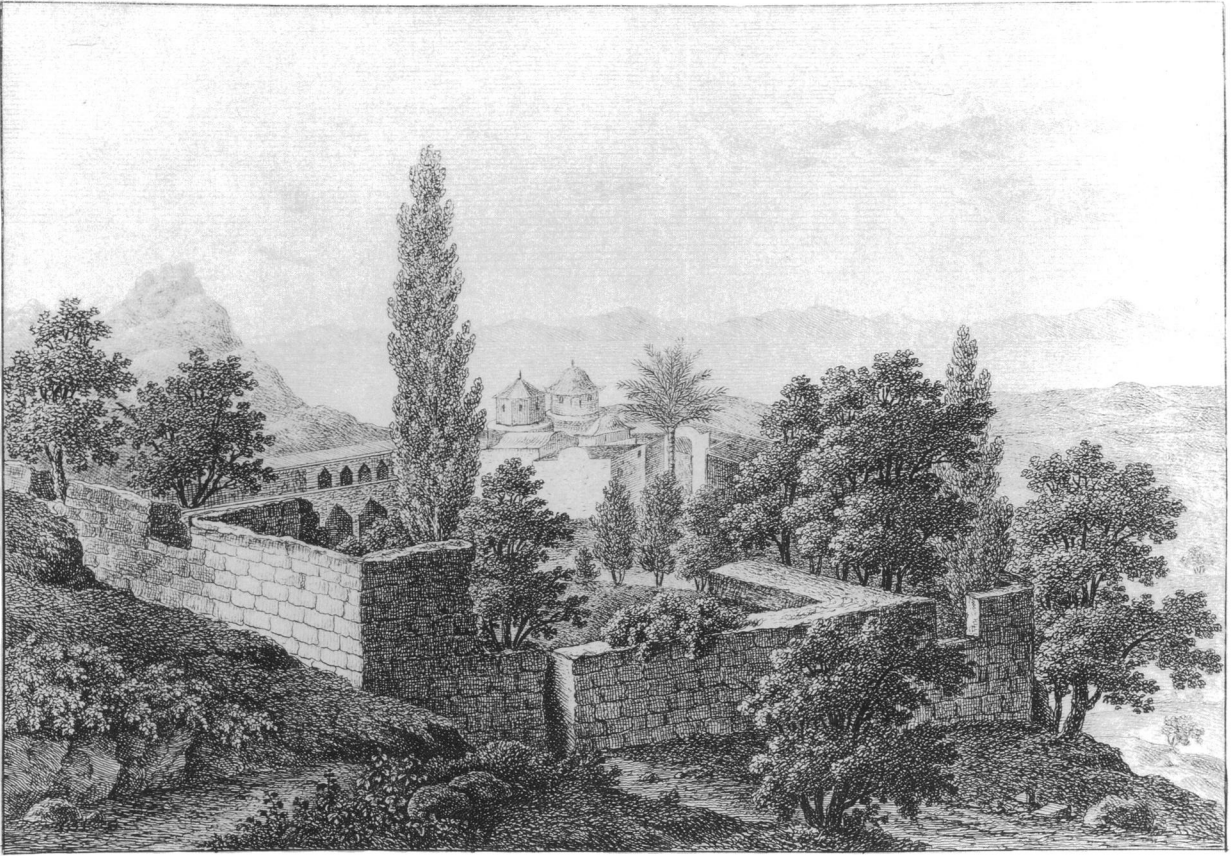
1 General view of the monastery from the northeast



2 The monastery in 1683 (after C. van Bruyn)



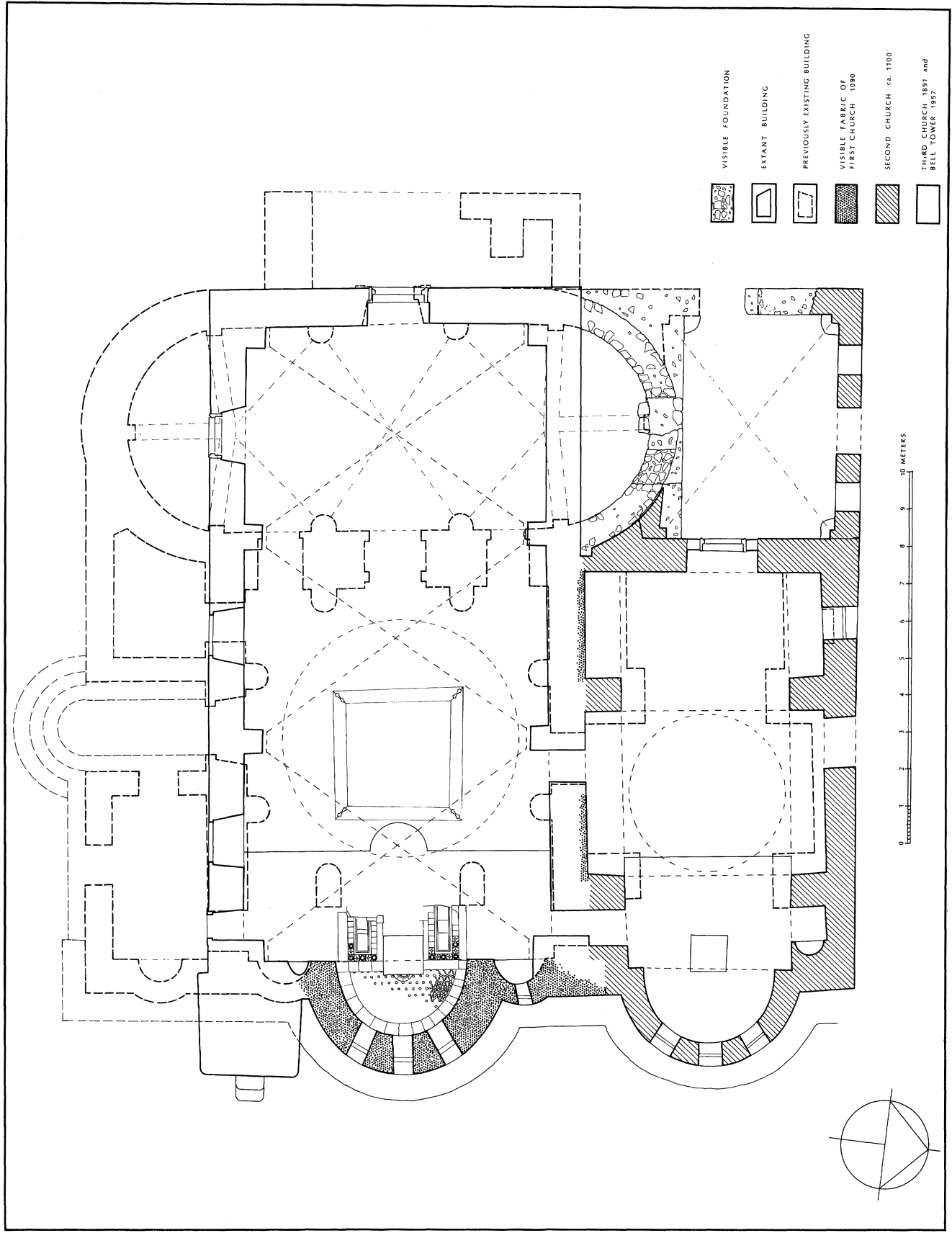
3 The monastery in 1735 (after V. Grigorovič-Barskij)



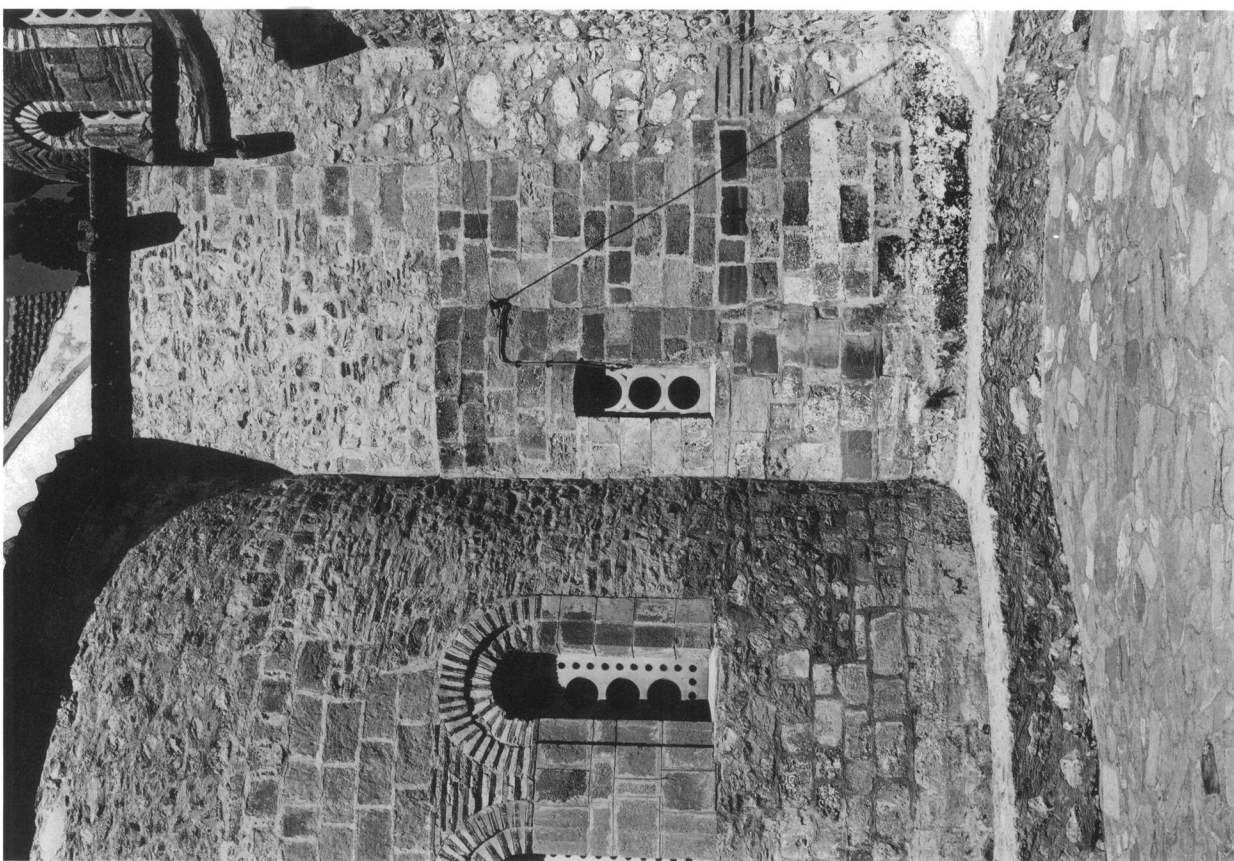
4 The monastery in 1816 (after O. F. von Richter)



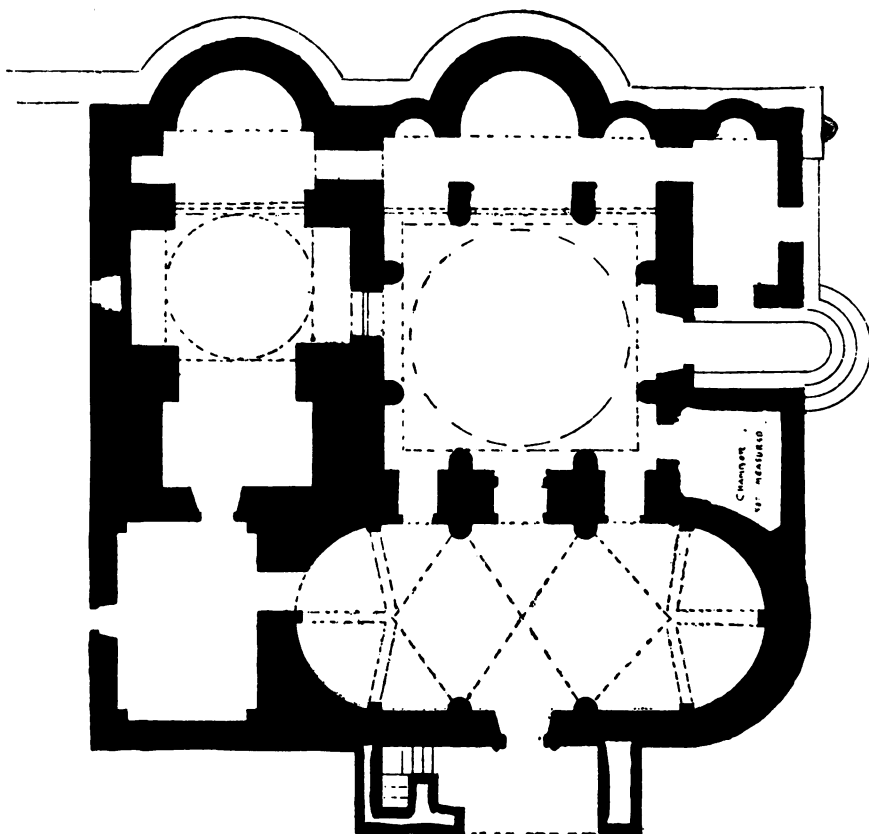
5 General view of the two churches from the northeast



6 Ground plan of the two churches (drawing: Richard Anderson)



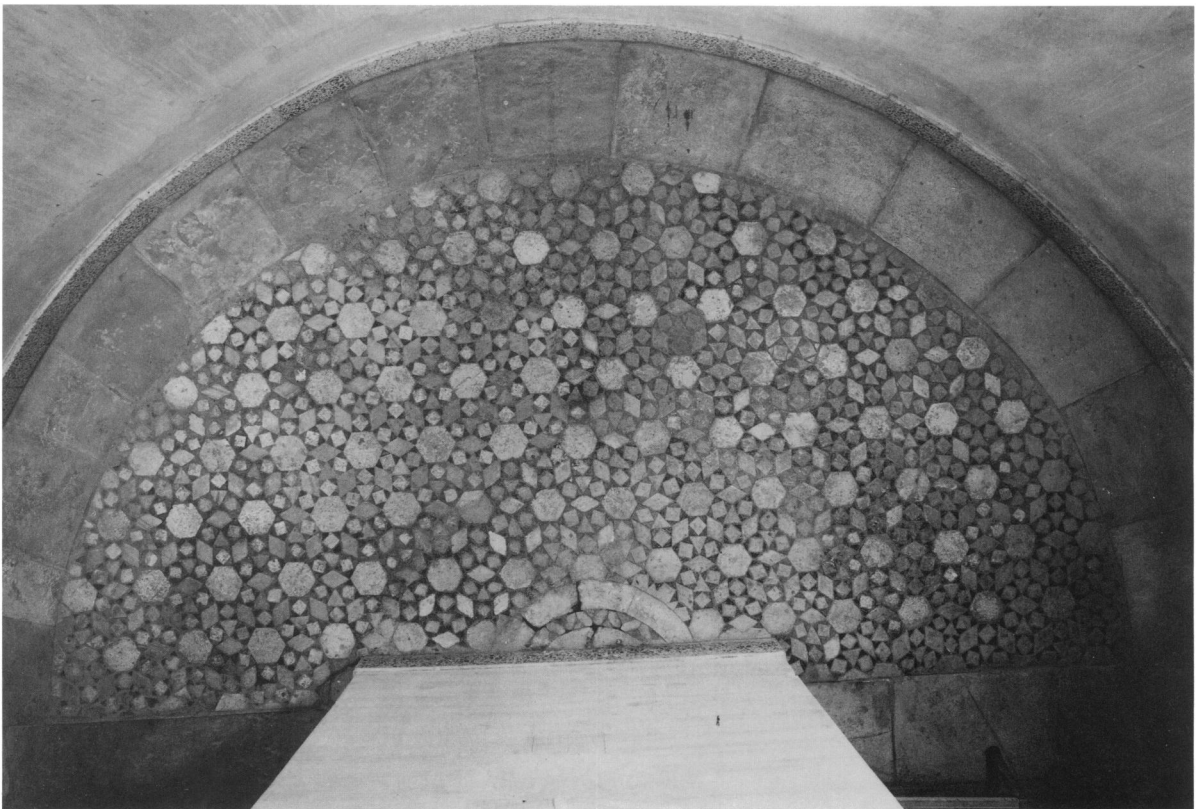
8 South church, central and north apses



7 Ground plan of the two churches, before 1891 (after W. Williams)



9 South church, remains of projecting north apse of narthex



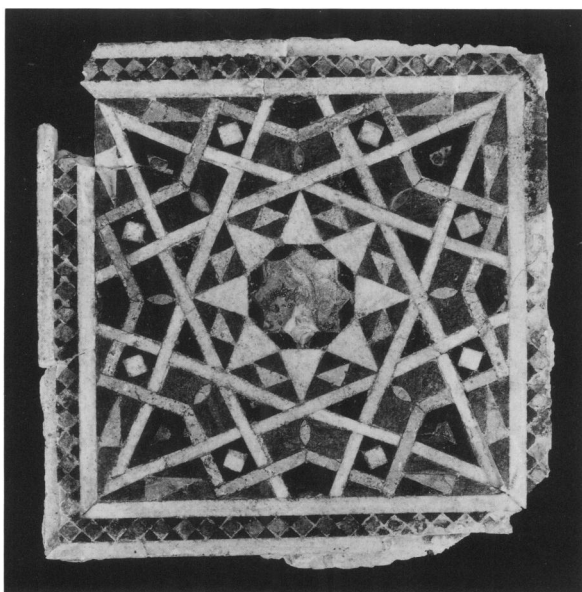
10 South church, opus sectile pavement of central apse



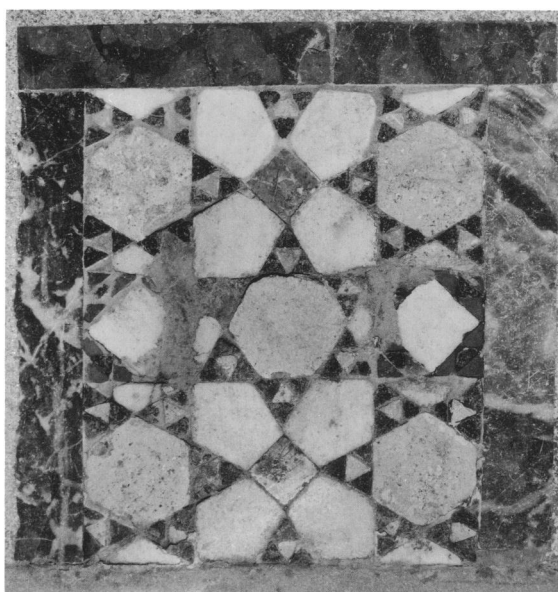
11 South church, opus sectile pavement north of altar table



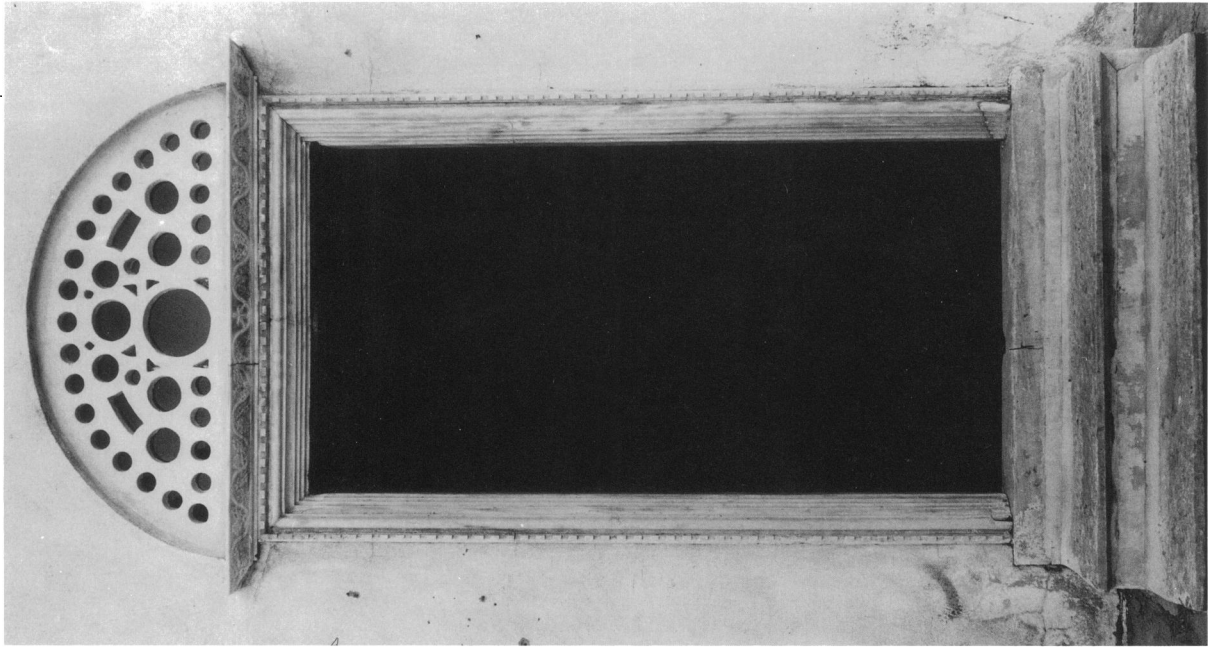
12 South church, opus sectile pavement south of altar table



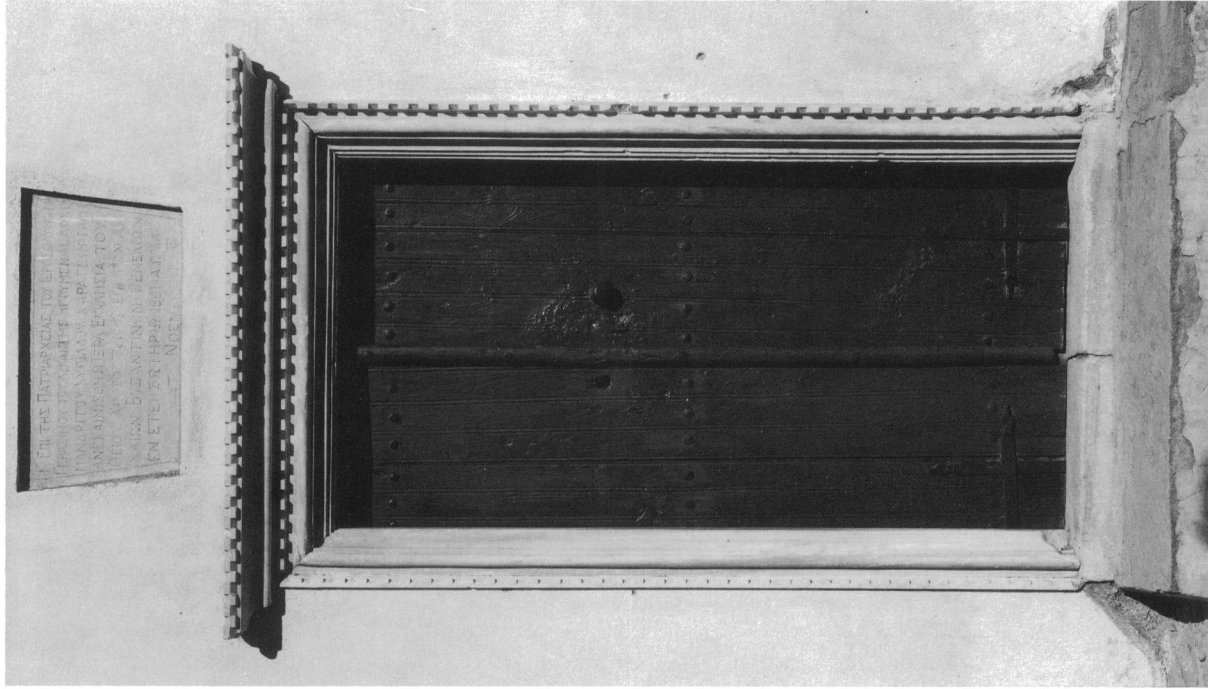
13 Loose panel of opus sectile



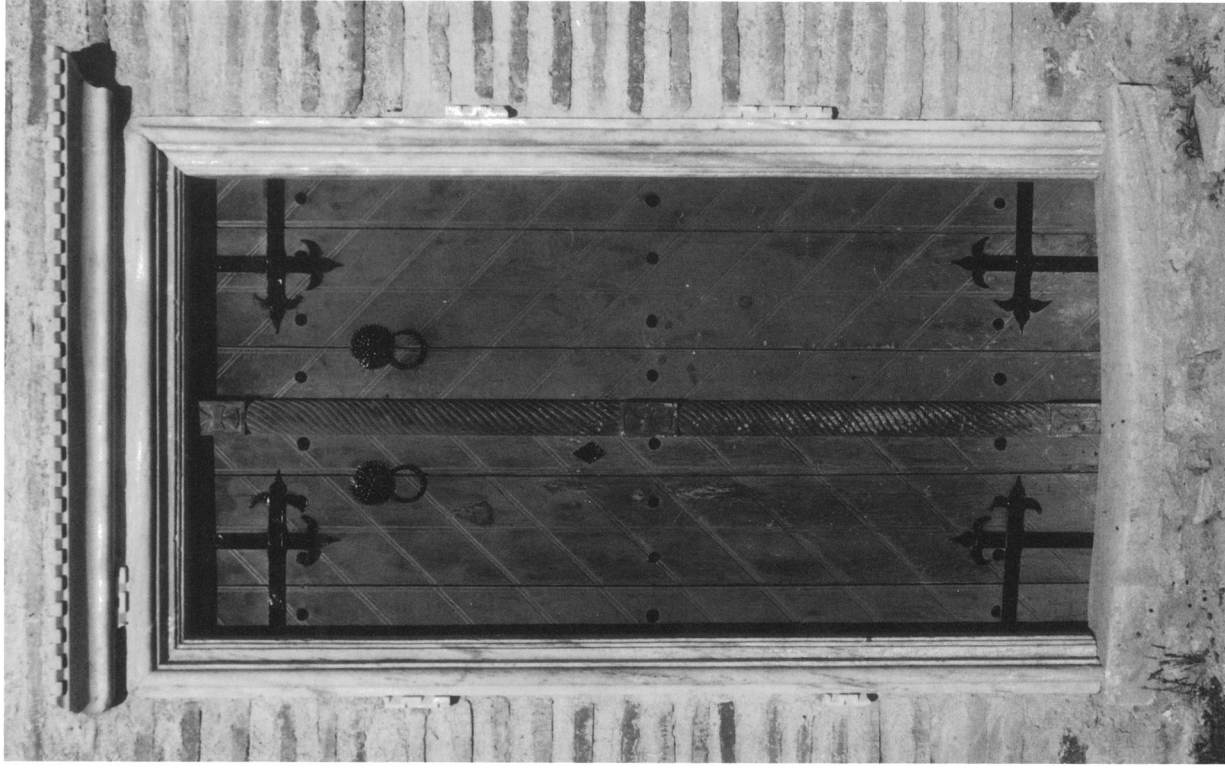
14 South church, fragment of opus sectile in central square of pavement



15 South church, west door



16 South church, southwest door



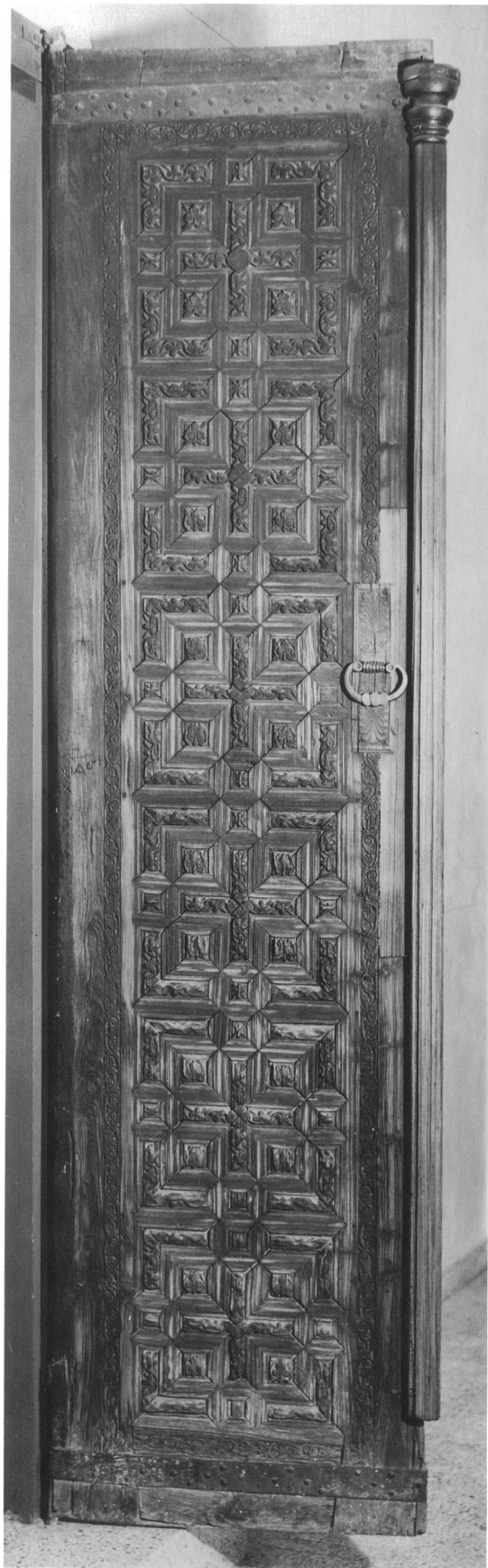
17 North church, west door



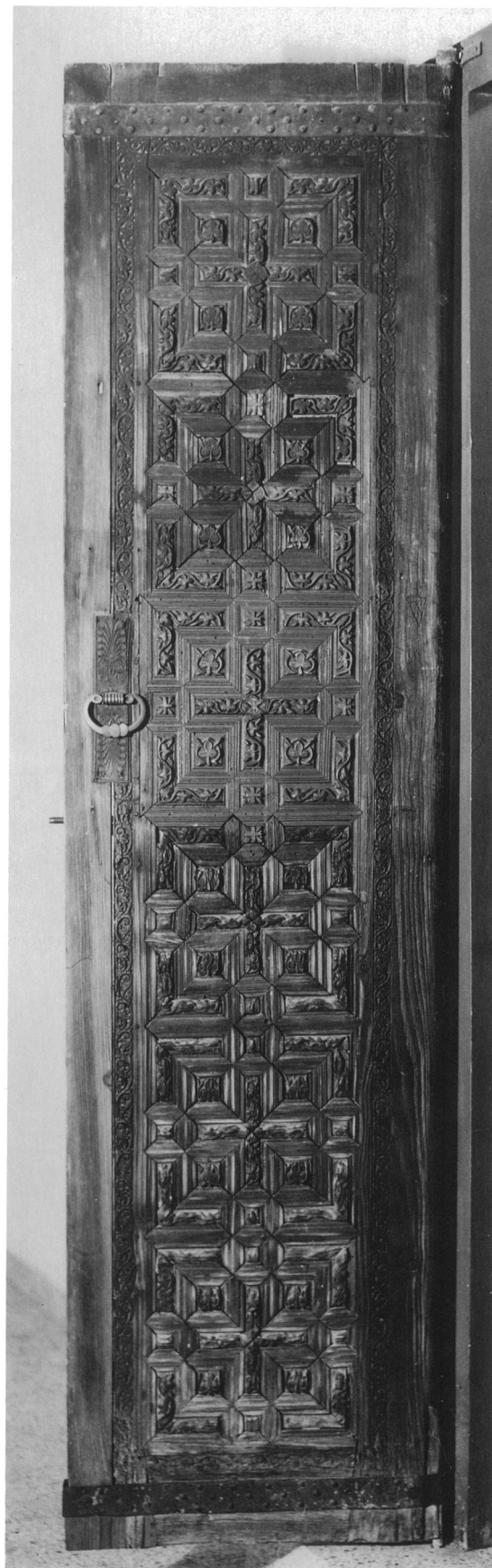
18 South church, lintel of west door



19 Fragment of sculpture above monastery gate



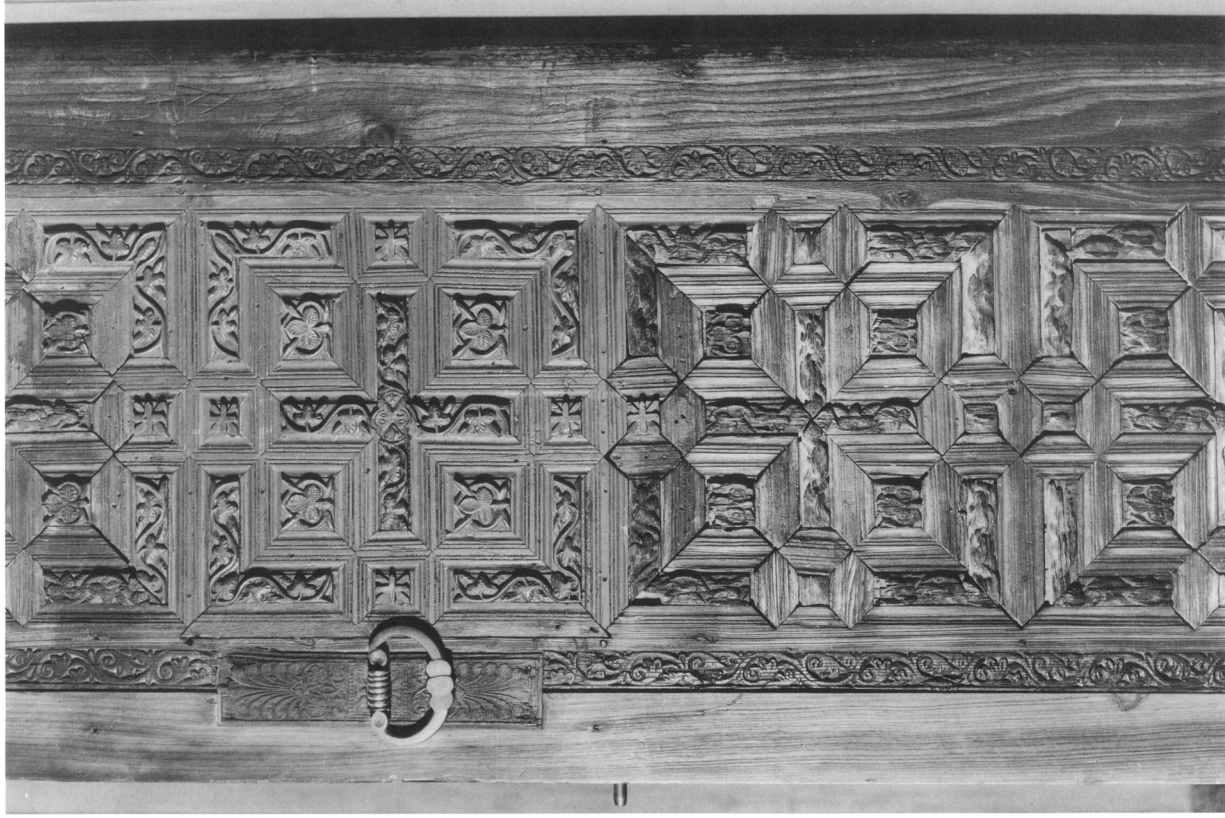
20 South church, wooden door



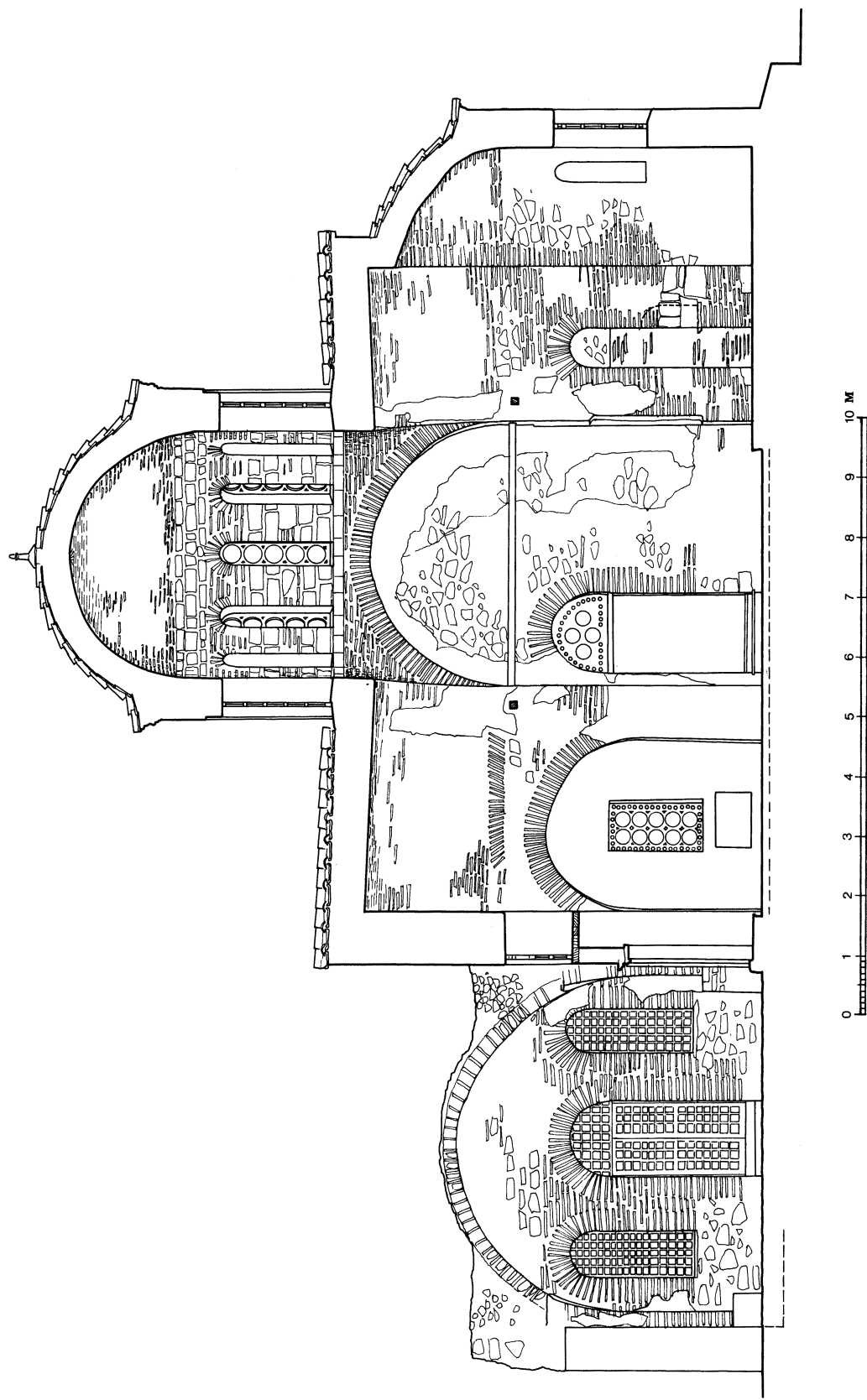
21 South church, wooden door



22 Detail of Figure 20

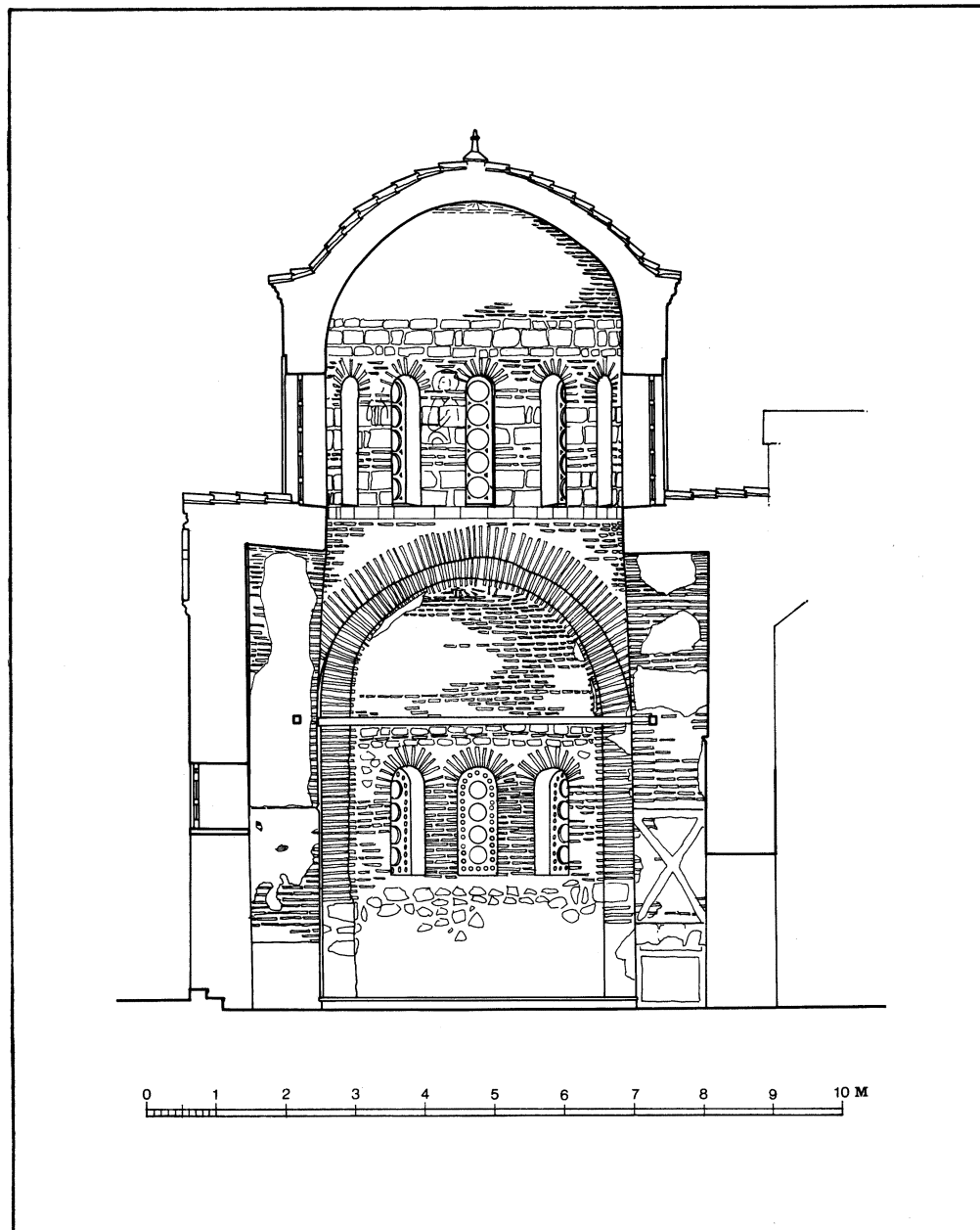


23 Detail of Figure 21

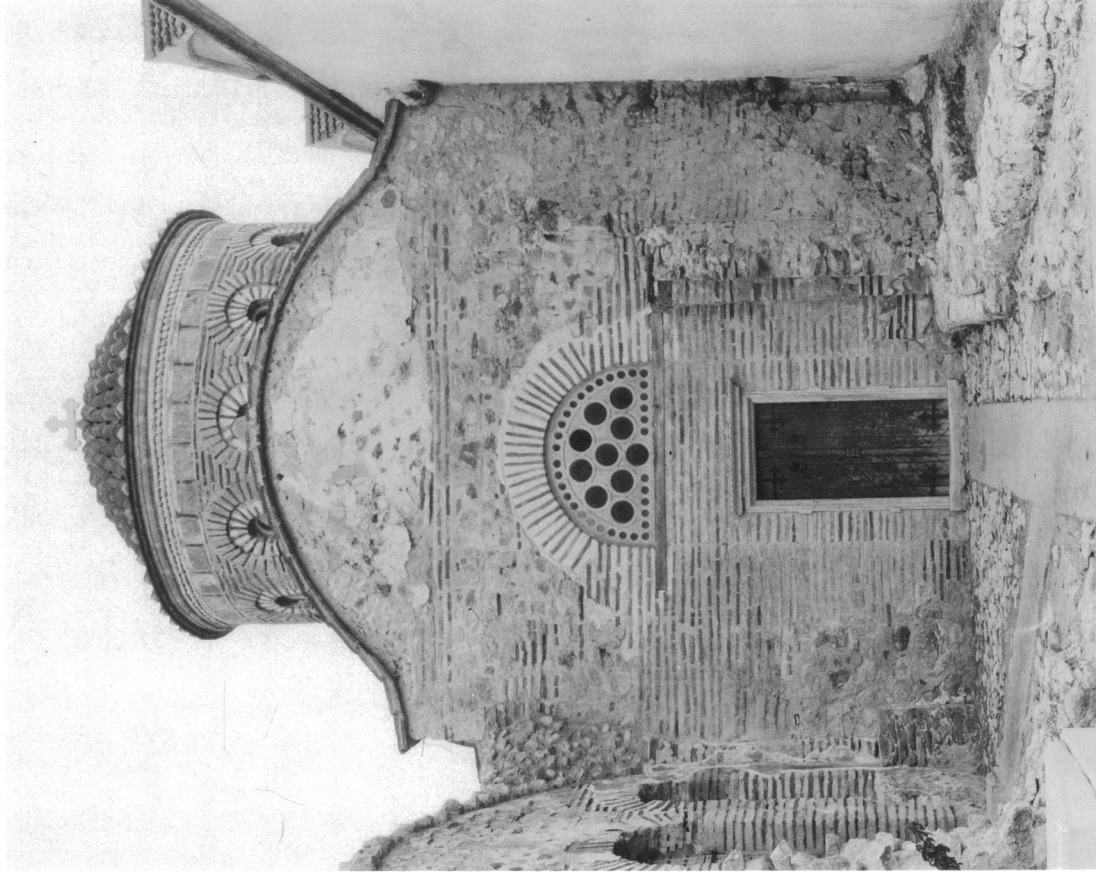


24 Longitudinal section looking north (drawing: Richard Anderson)

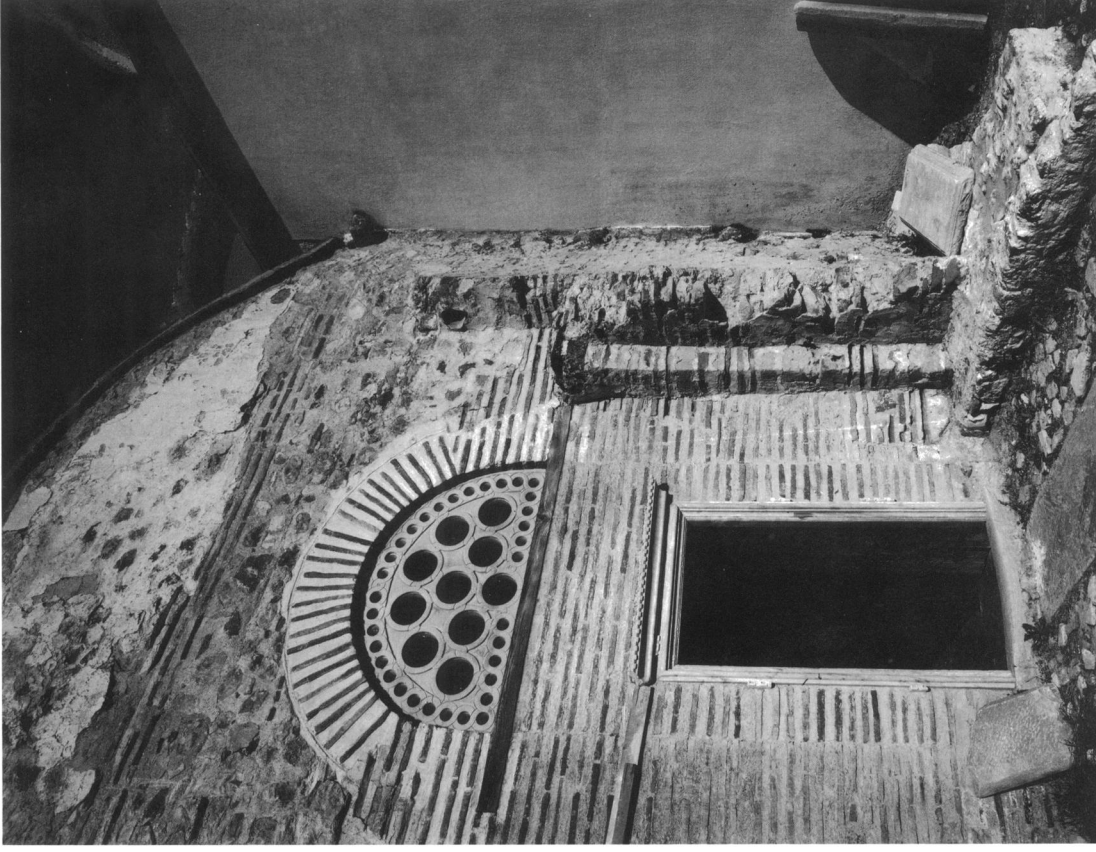
North Church (Figures 24–185 and Color Plates 1–8)



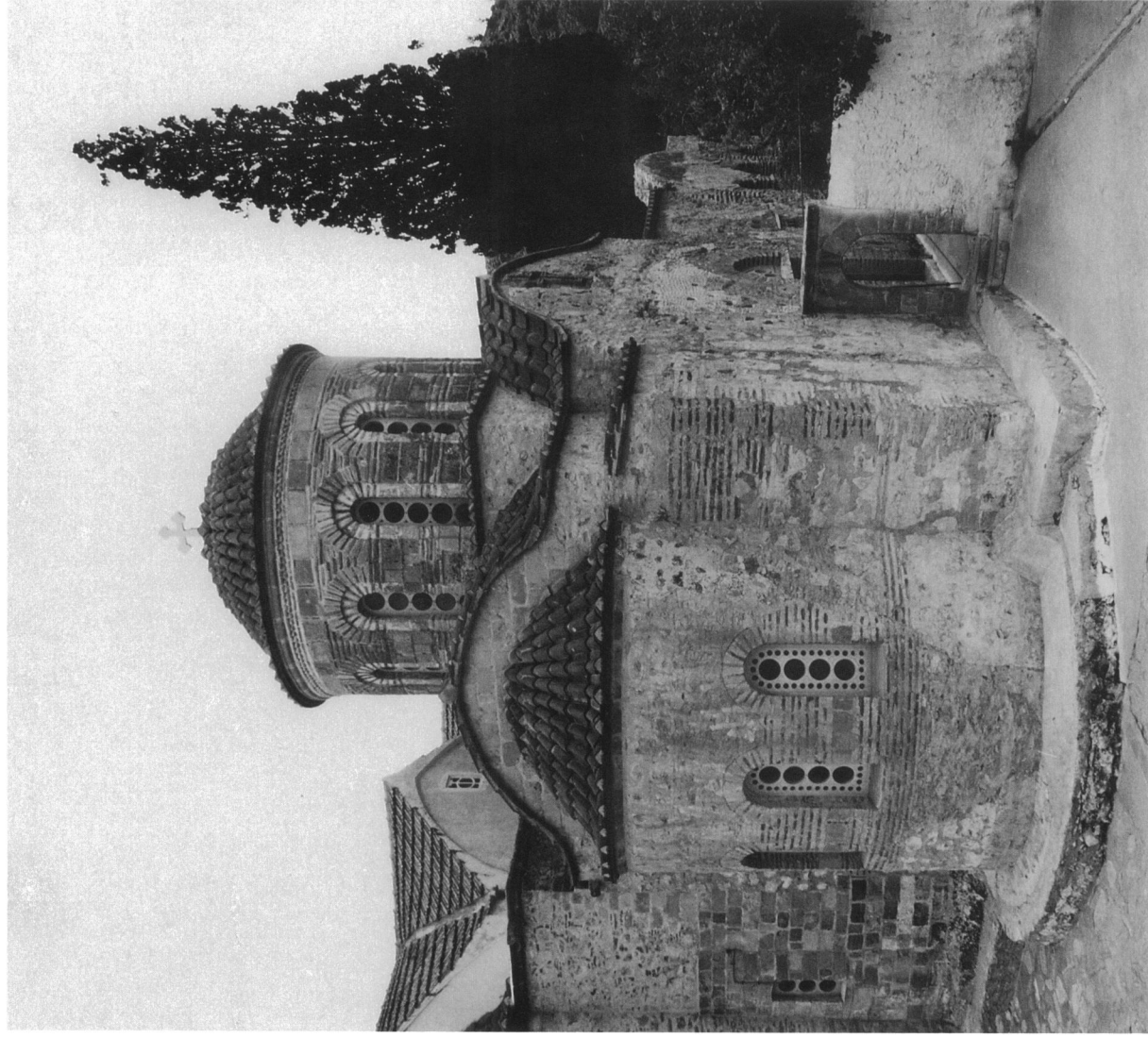
25 Transverse section looking east (drawing: Richard Anderson)



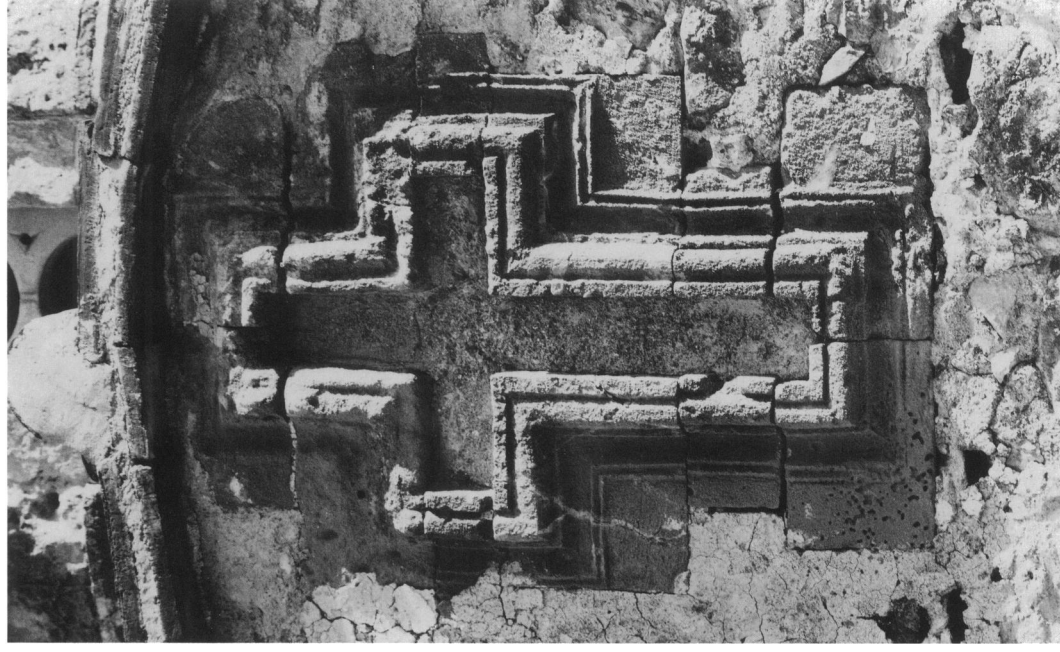
26 West facade



27 Junction of west facade to narthex of south church



28 Exterior view from northeast



29 Ornamental cross on north facade



30 Apse in the course of rebuilding (1942) (photo: Department of Antiquities, Cyprus)



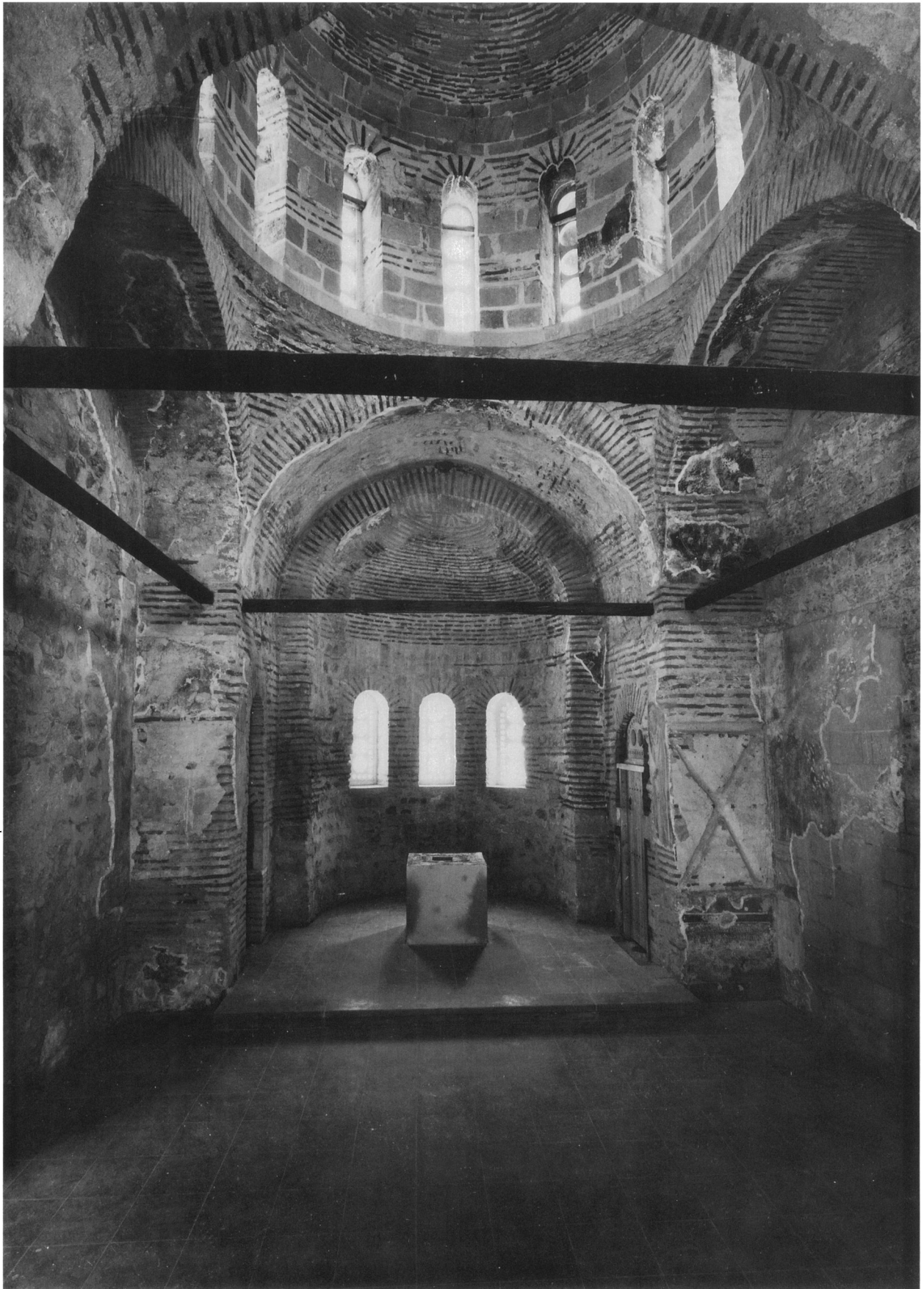
31 North facade before restoration (photo: Department of Antiquities, Cyprus)



32 West facade and north wall of narthex before restoration
(photo: Department of Antiquities, Cyprus)



33 Insertion of reinforced concrete collar over bema vault (photo: Department of Antiquities, Cyprus)



34 Interior looking east (1963)



35 Interior looking east, after insertion of templon screen



36 Interior looking south (1963)



37 Interior looking north (1963)



38 South wall



39 Interior looking west (1963)





41 Templon screen, Capital A



42 Capital C



43 Capital D



44 Capital E



45 Templon screen, Capital F



46 Fragment of parapet slab



47 Dome and pendentive looking northeast



48 Dome, sketch between windows 10 and 11



49 Dome, sketch between windows 11 and 12



50 Dome, fragment of seated apostle between windows 1 and 2



51 Dome, detail of construction



52 Dome, sketch of halo between windows 9 and 10



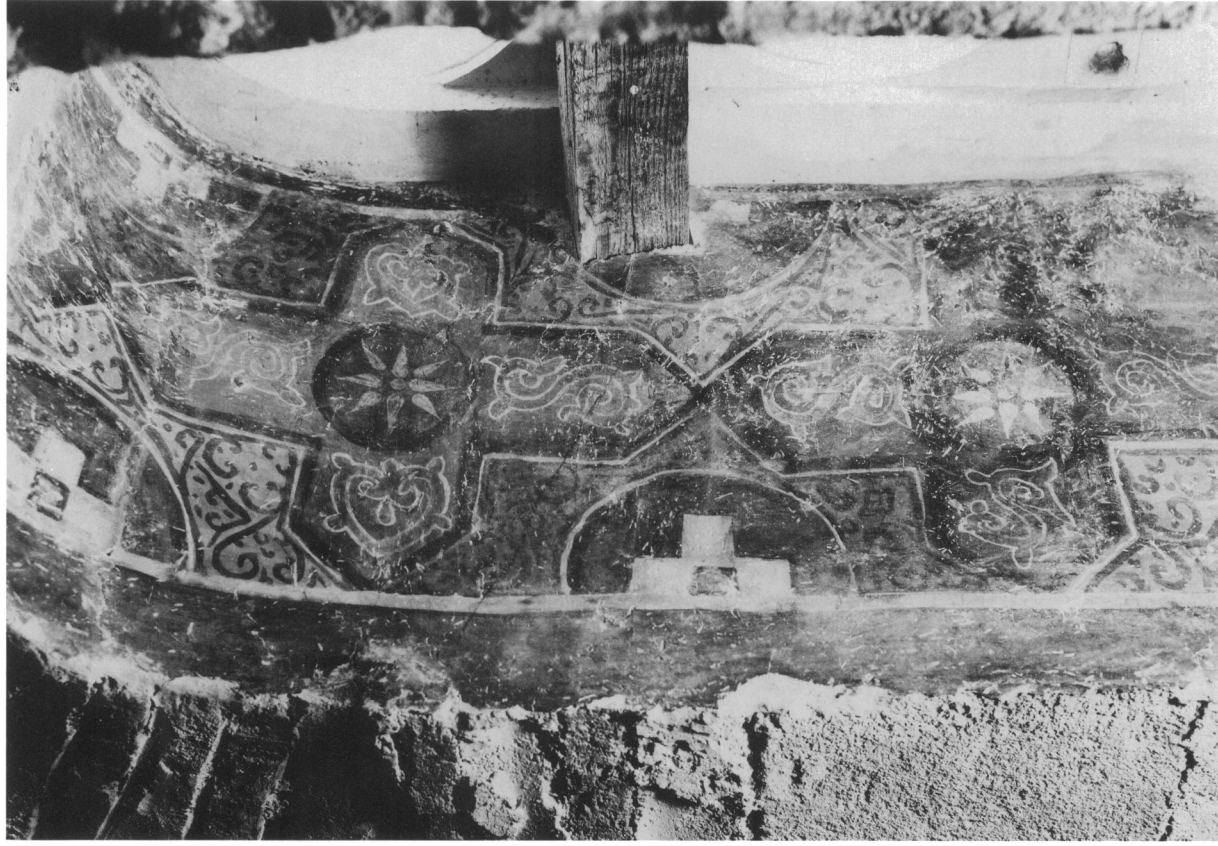
53 Dome, fragment of seated apostle between windows 6 and 7



54 Dome, window 1, ornament in reveal



55 Dome, window 2, same



56 Dome, window 3, same



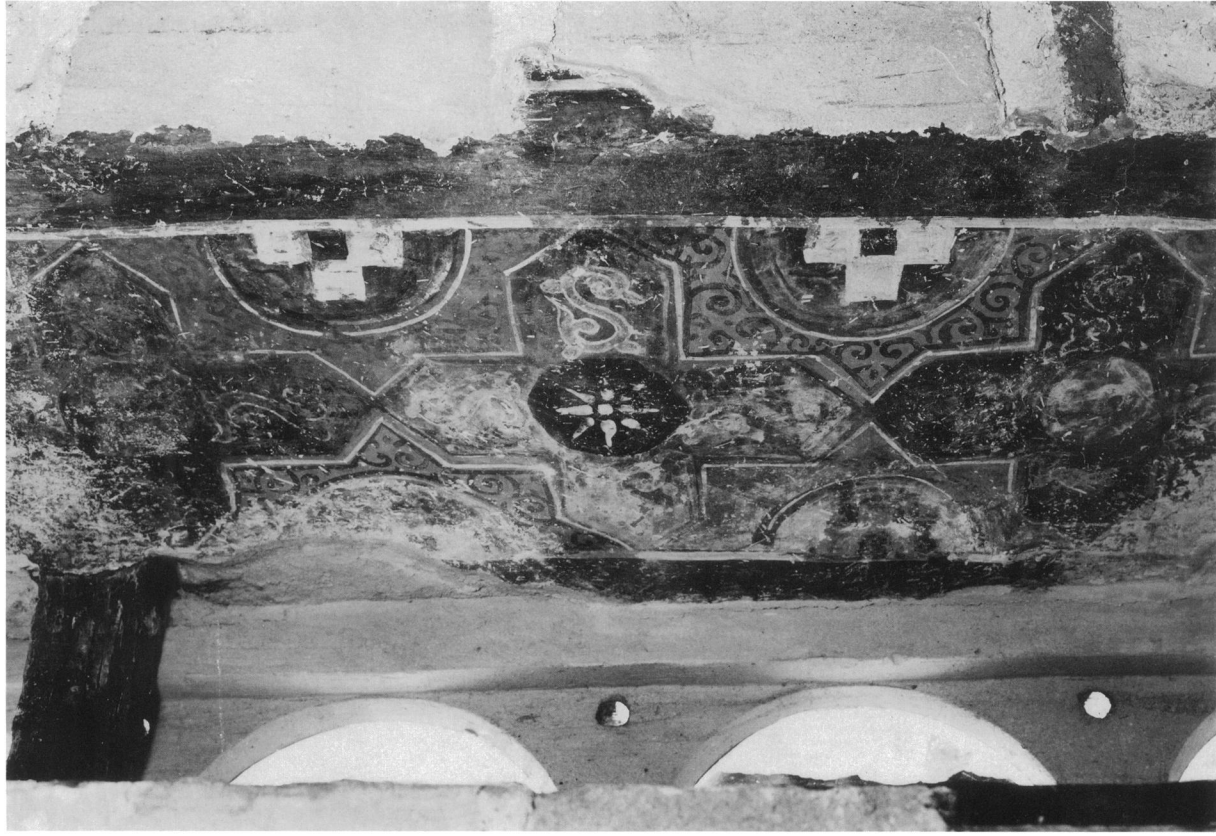
57 Dome, window 4, same



58 Dome, window 5, same



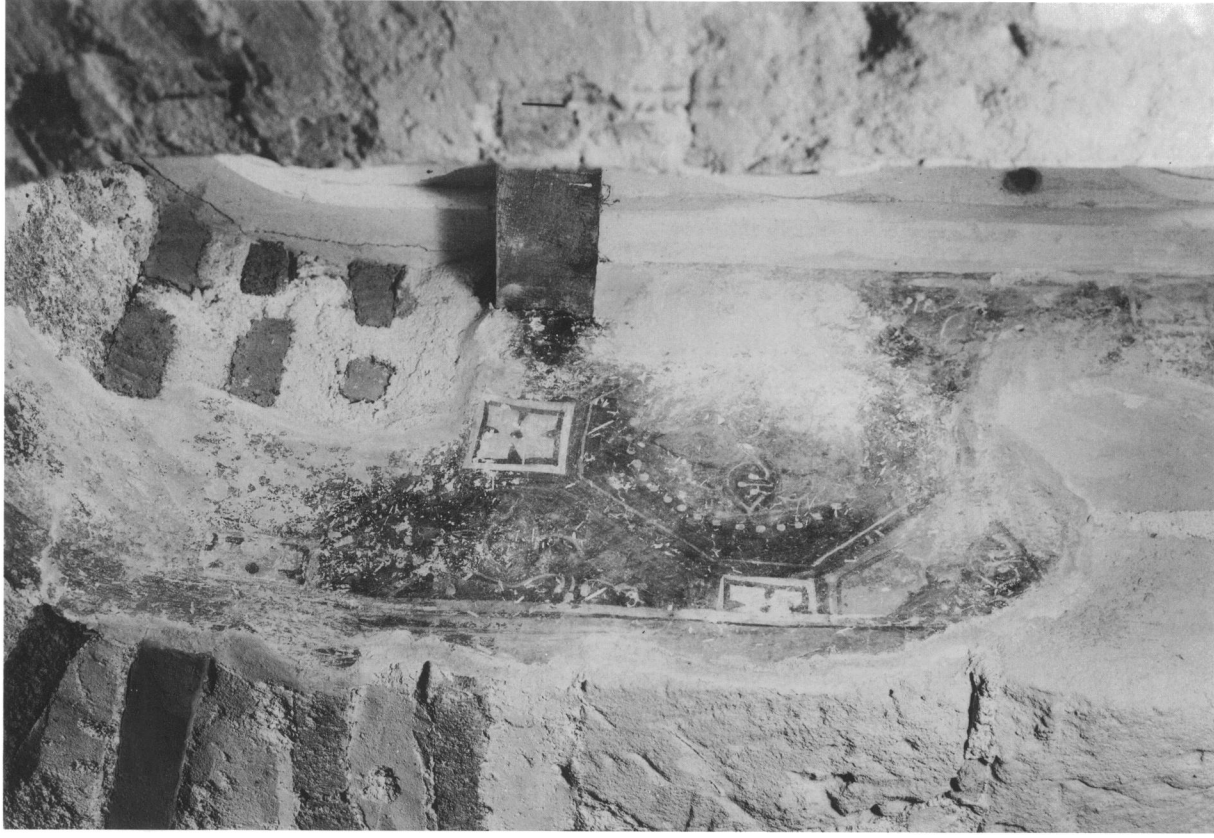
59 Dome, window 6, same



60 Dome, window 7, same



61 Dome, window 8, same



62 Dome, window 11, same



63 Dome, window 12, same



64 Semidome of apse



65 North side of apse, sketch of cross with initials



66 South face of apse, bishop



67 Bema arch looking up



68 Bema arch, Ascension, central fragment



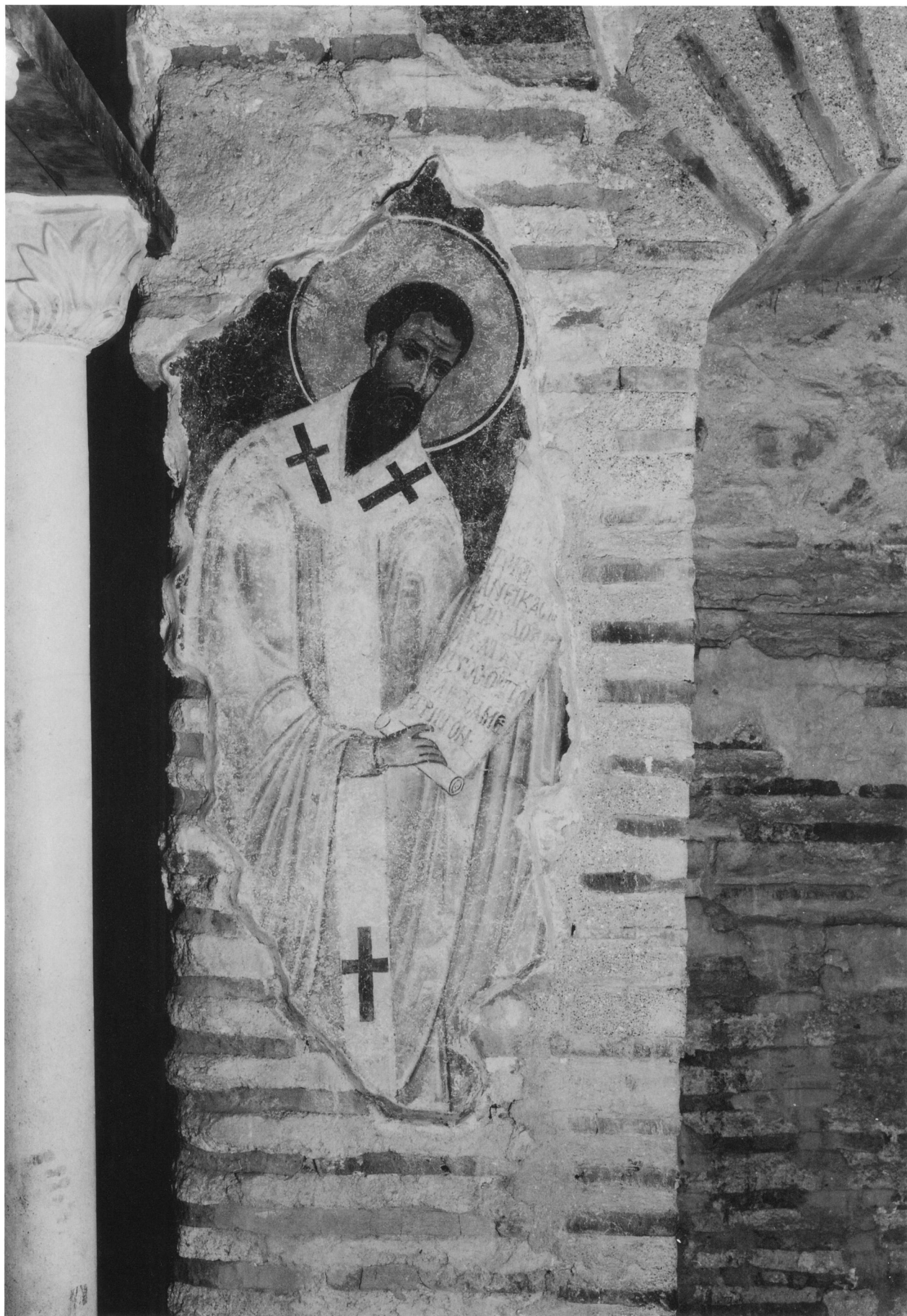
69 Bema arch, north fragment



70 South fragment

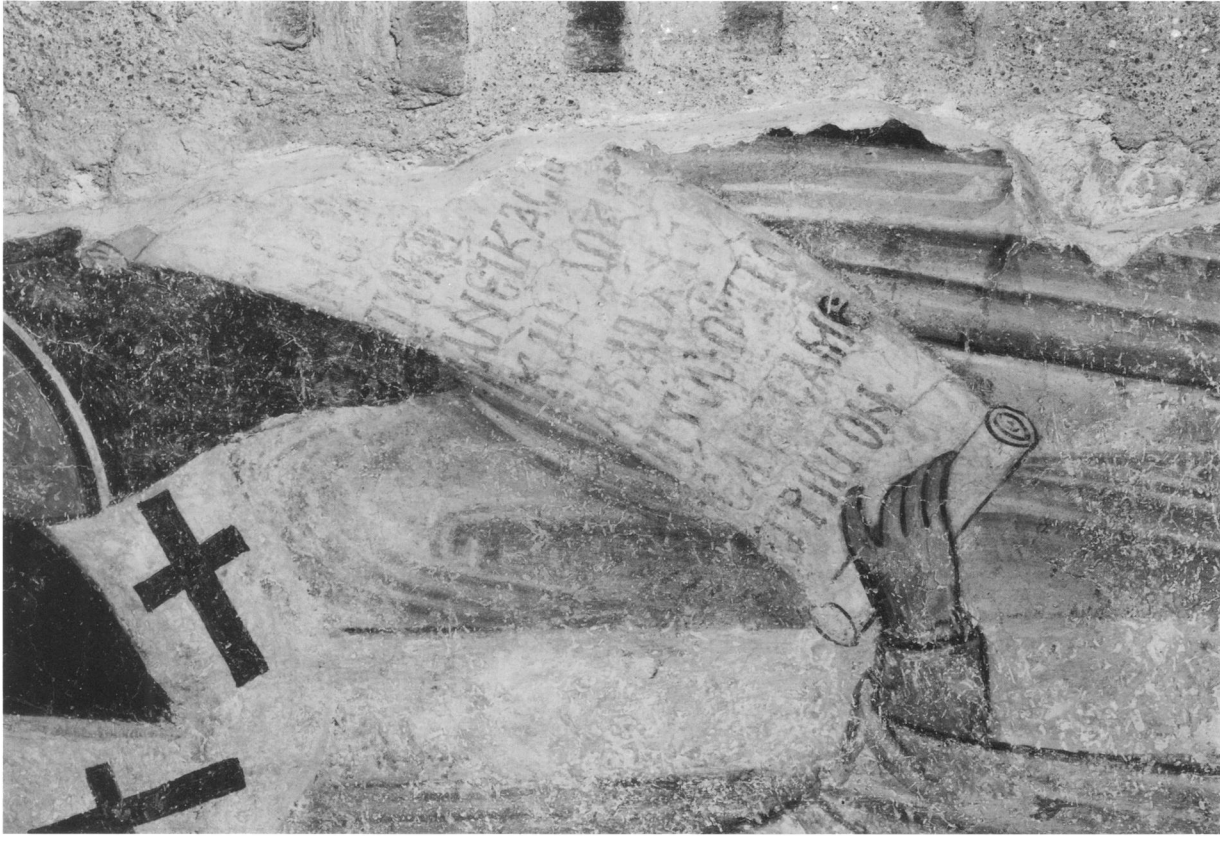


71 Bema looking north





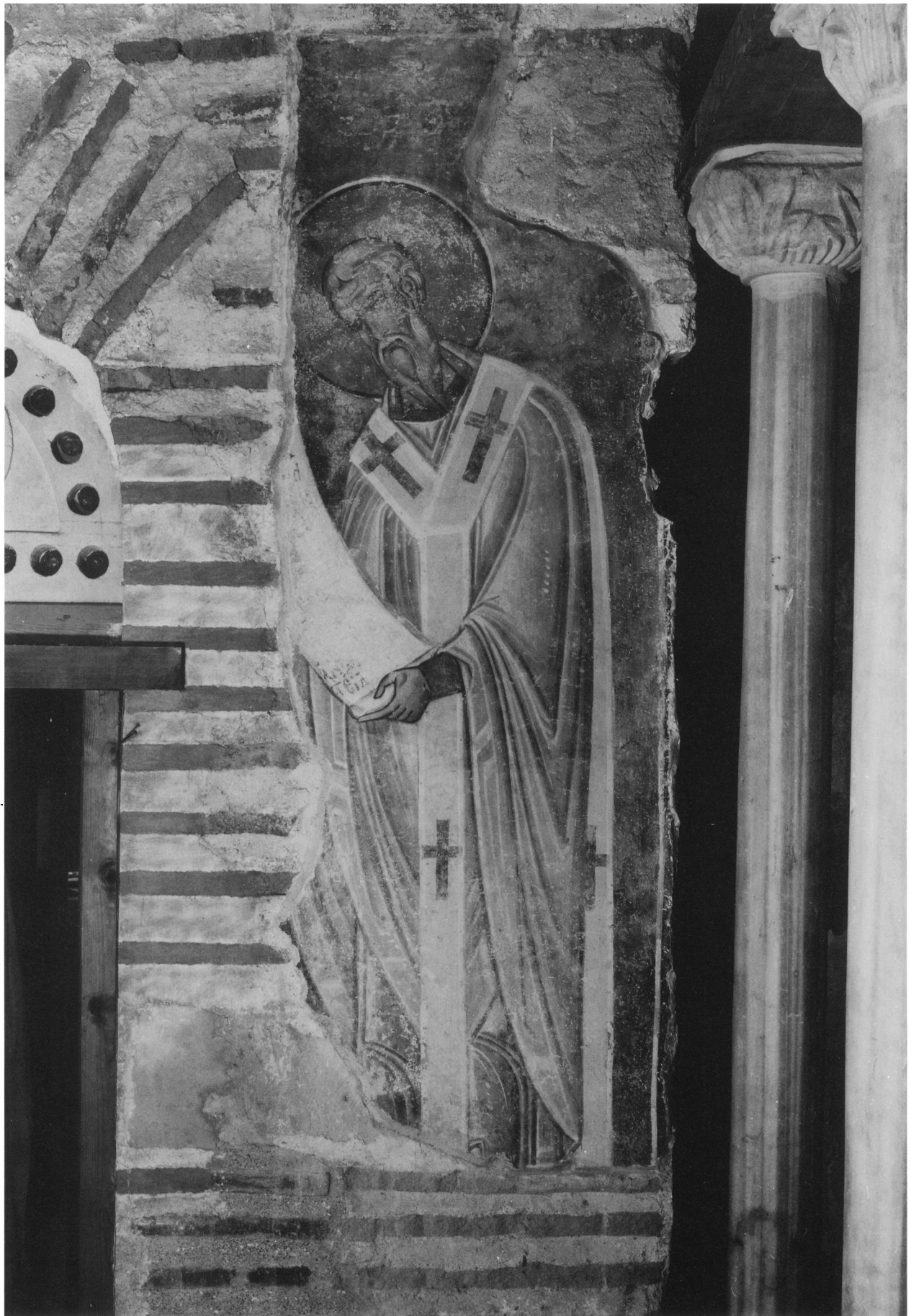
73 North wall of bema, head of bishop



74 Scroll of bishop



75 Bema looking south





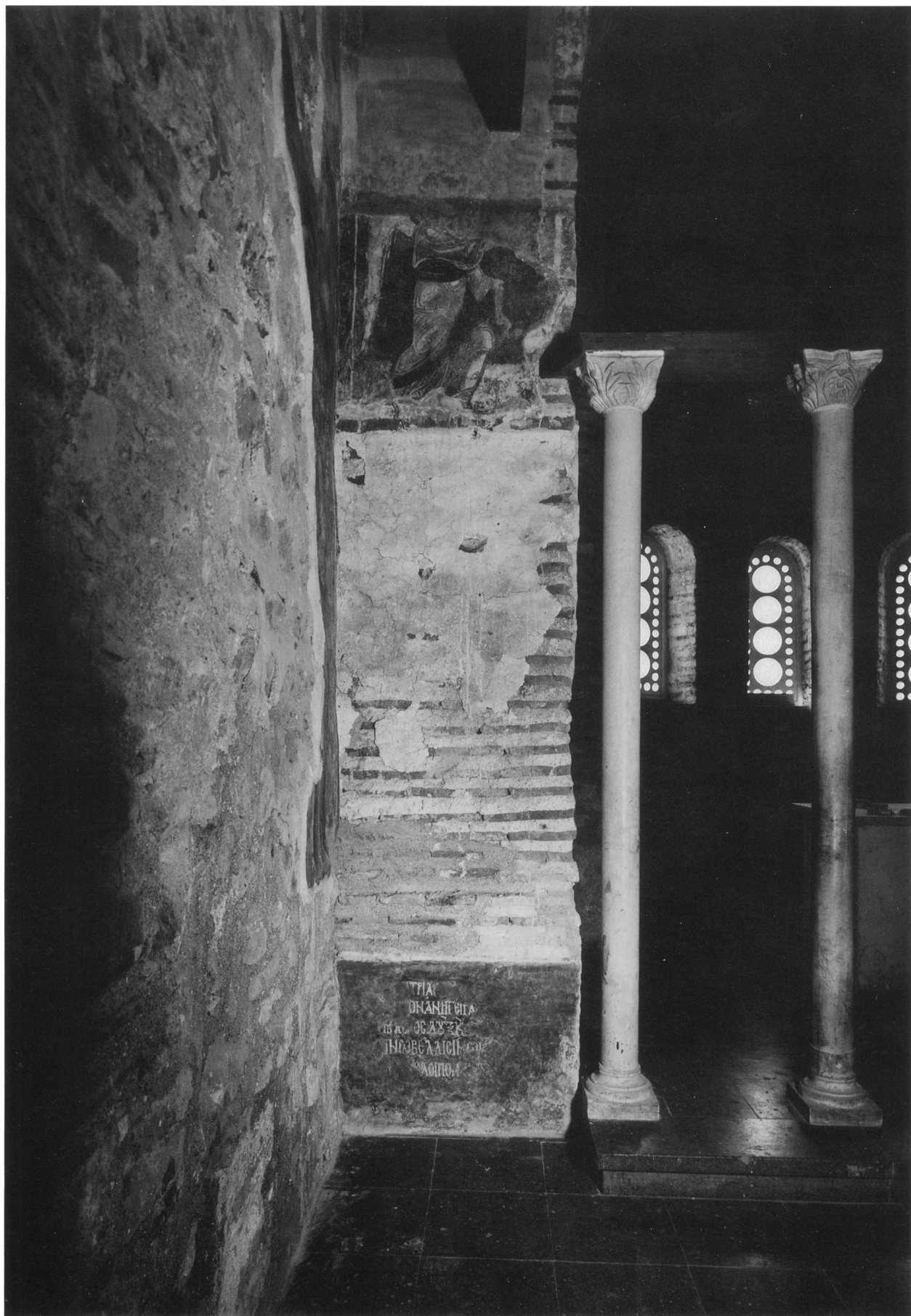
77 South wall of bema, head of bishop



78 Scroll of bishop



79 South wall of bema, second register, head of bishop



80 Northeast pier, west face



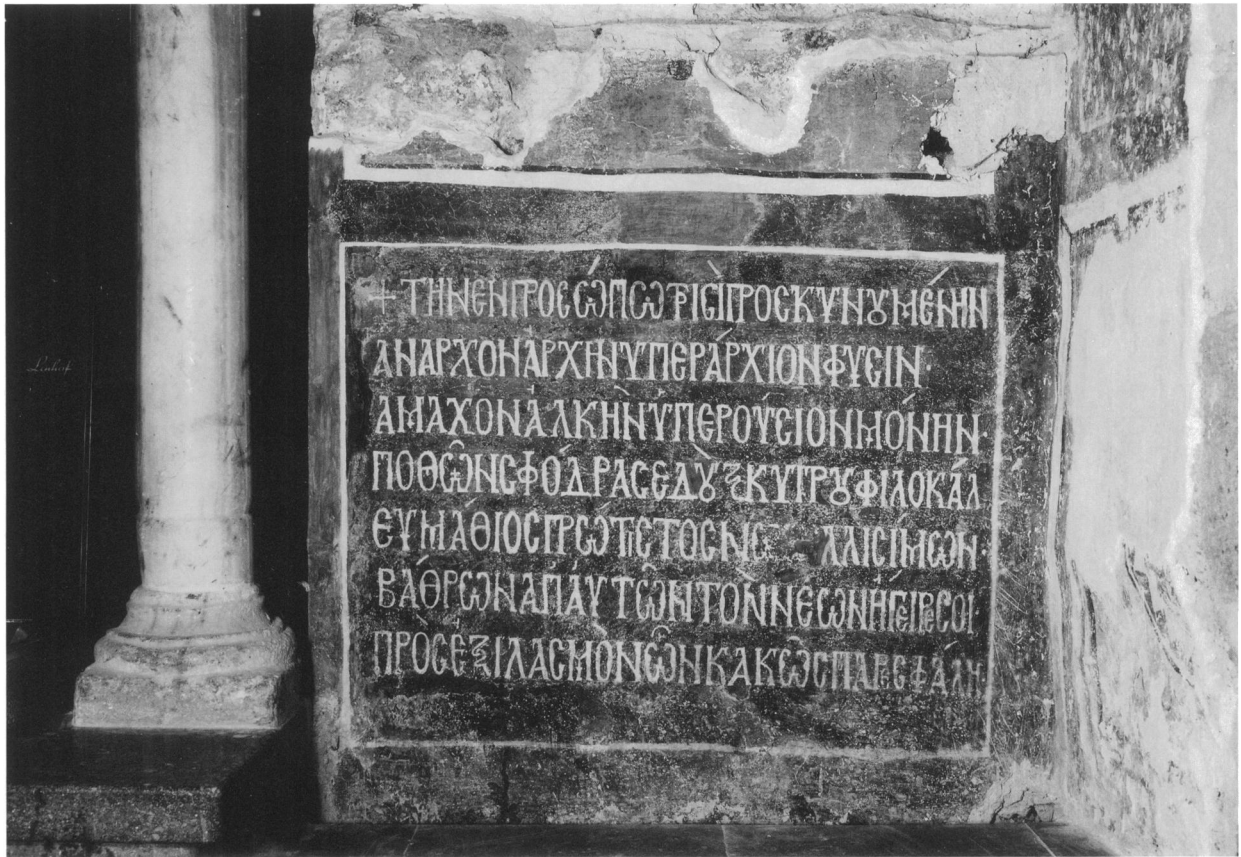
81 Northeast pier, west face, angel of Annunciation



82 Northeast pier, west face, inscription



83 Southeast pier, west face



84 Southeast pier, west face, inscription

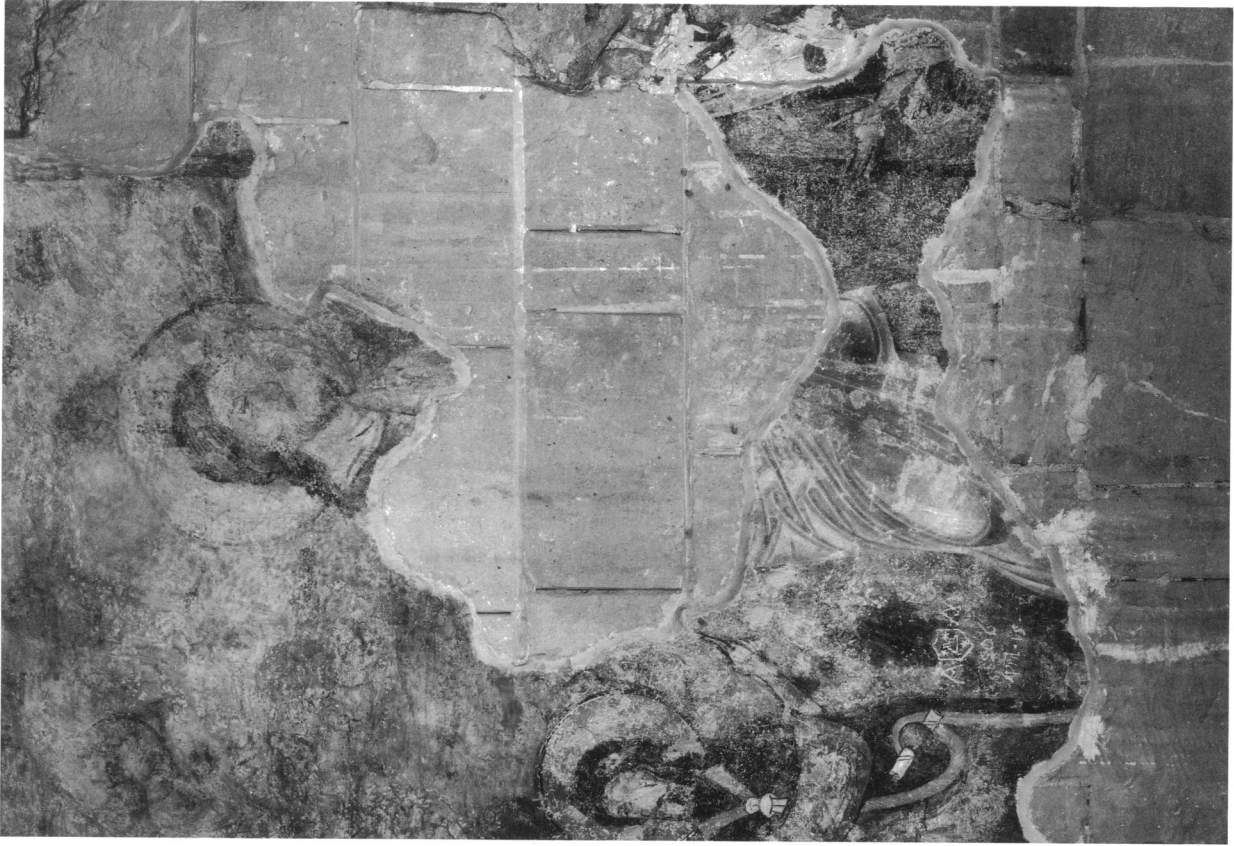


85 Junction of southeast pier to south wall

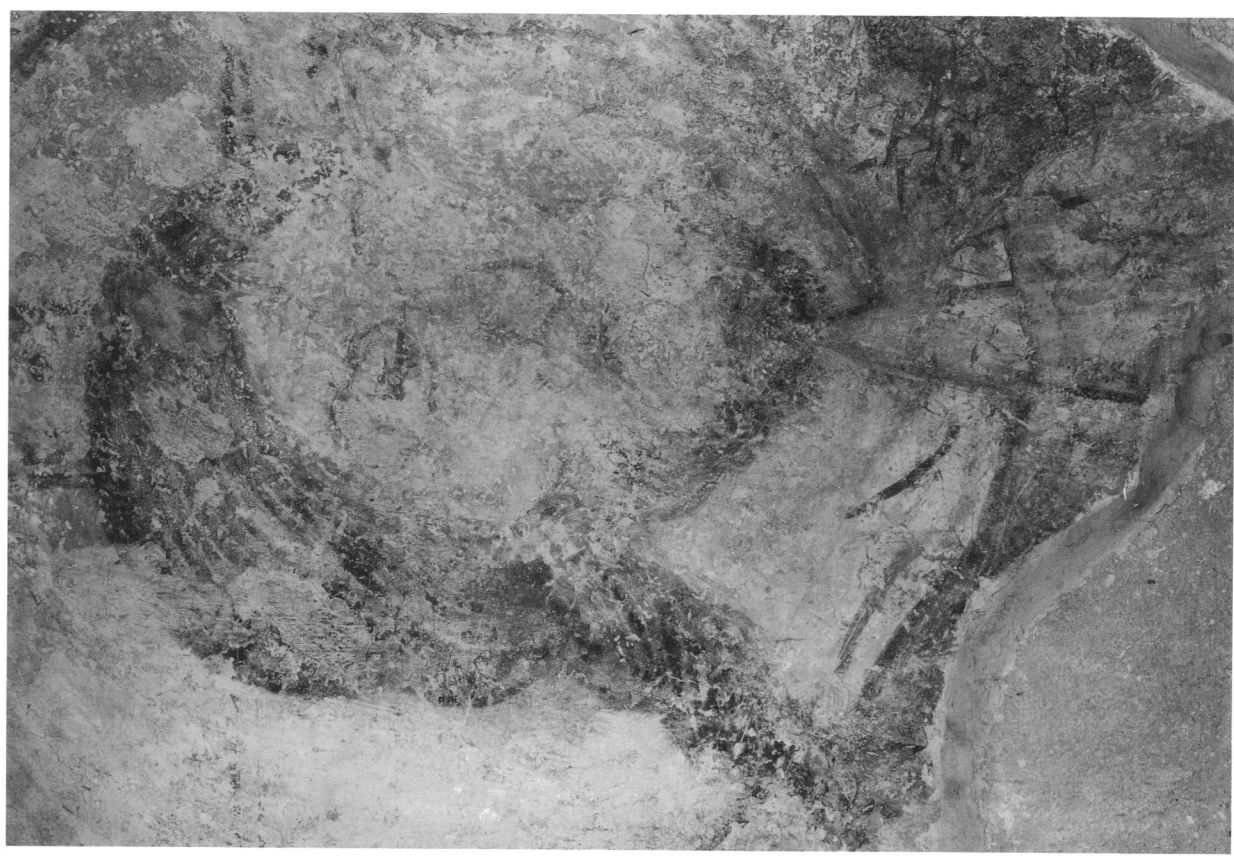




87 South wall, Anastasis, Solomon, David, and John the Baptist



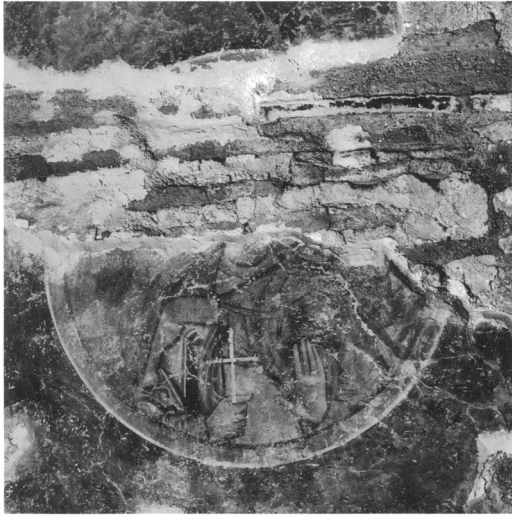
88 South wall, Anastasis, Christ



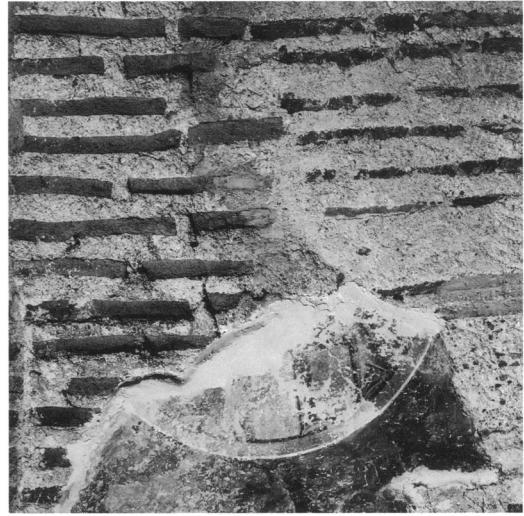
89 South wall, Anastasis, head of Christ



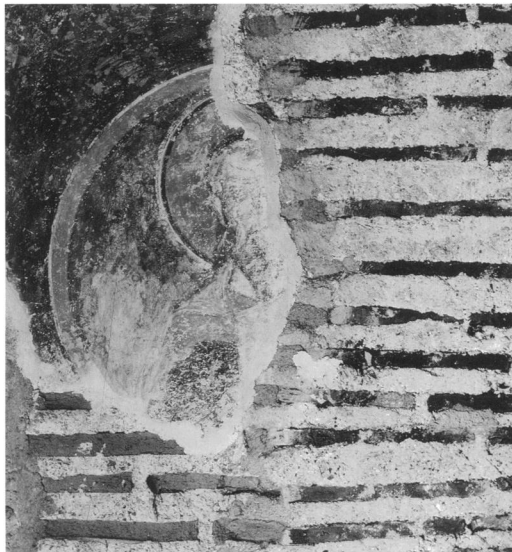
90 South wall, arch



91 South wall, arch, first medallion from east



92 Second medallion from east



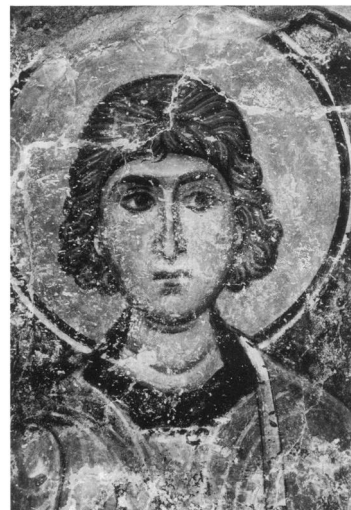
93 Third medallion from east



94 Sixth medallion from east



95 Seventh medallion from east
(St. Vincent)



96 Detail of St. Vincent



97 North wall



98 North wall, lunette and arch



99 North arch, first medallion from east



100 North arch, second medallion from east



101 North arch, third medallion from east



102 North arch, seventh medallion from east



103 North wall, lunette



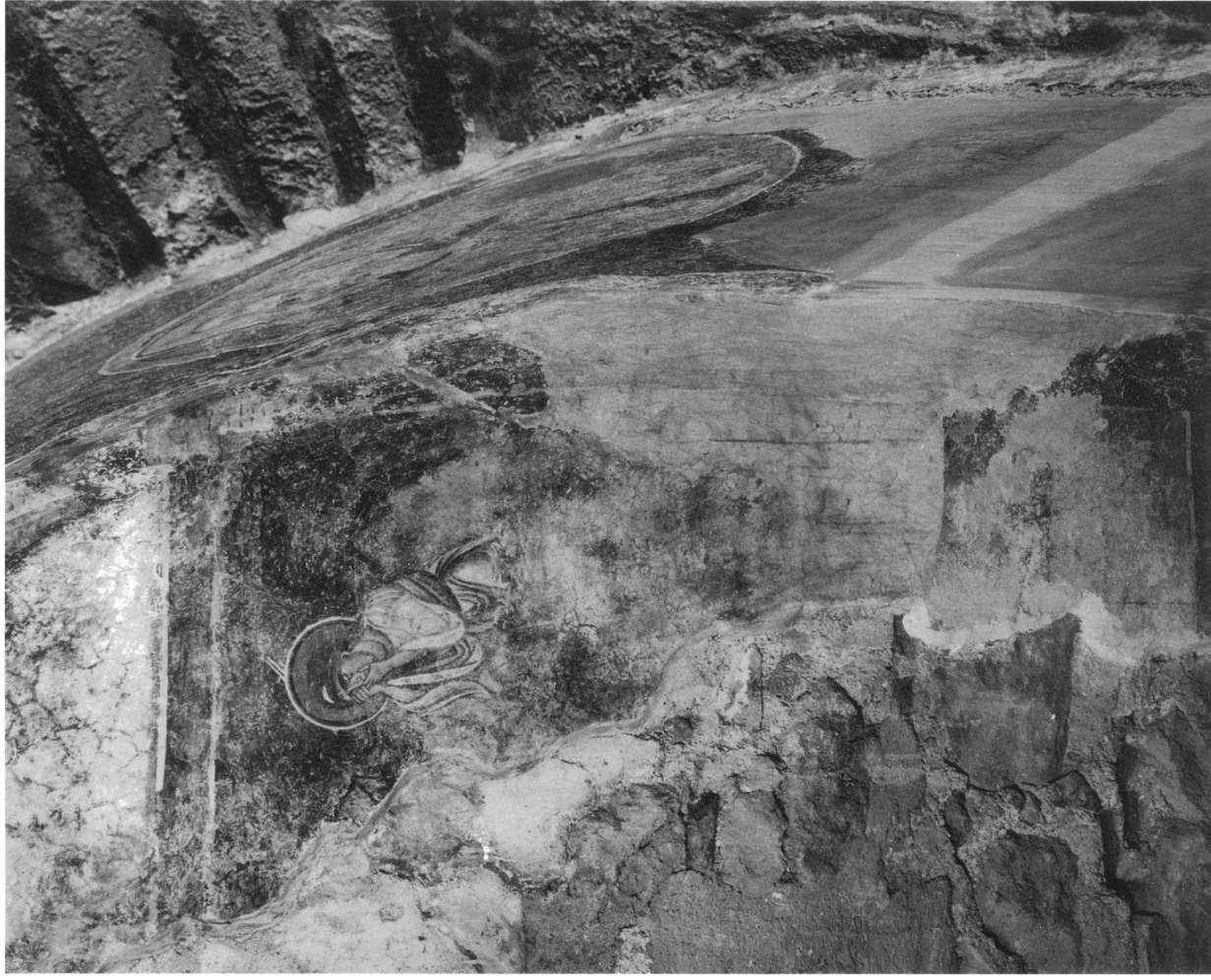
104 North wall, lunette, the Betrayal, group of soldiers



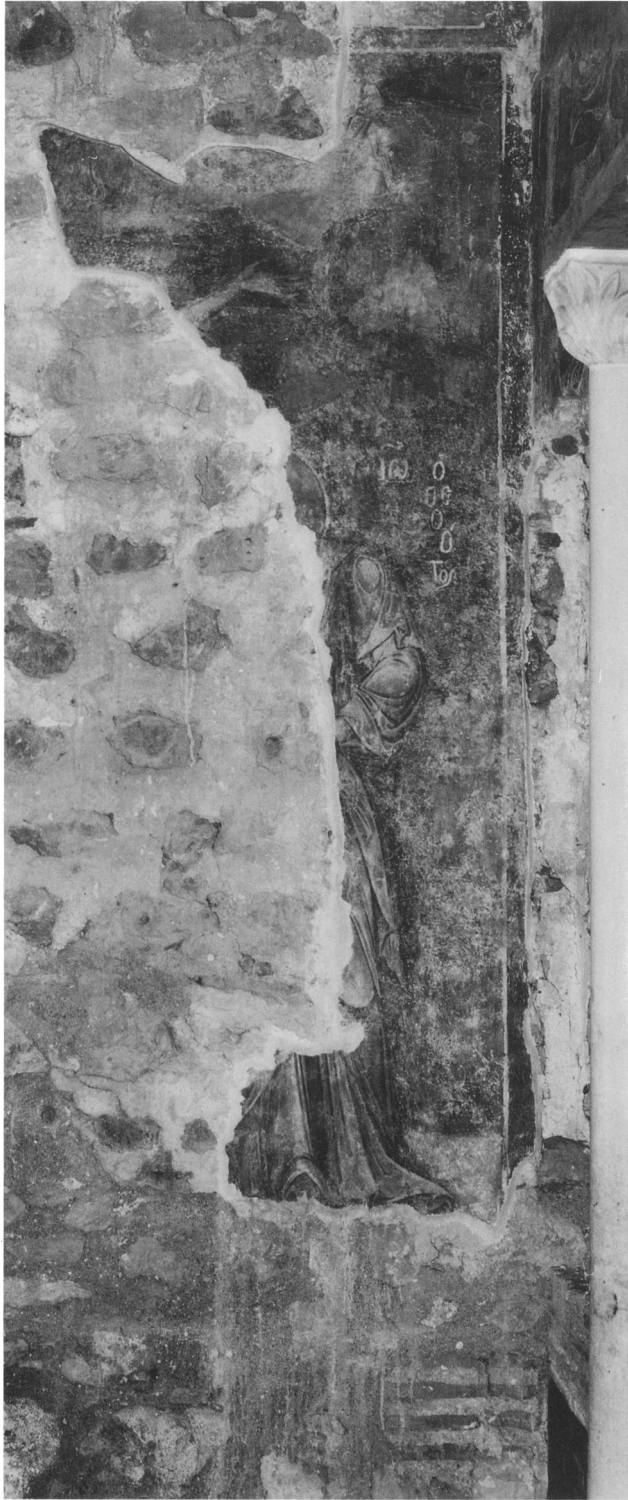
105 North wall, lunette, the Betrayal, prophet



106 North wall, middle register, fragment of judgment of Pilate(?)



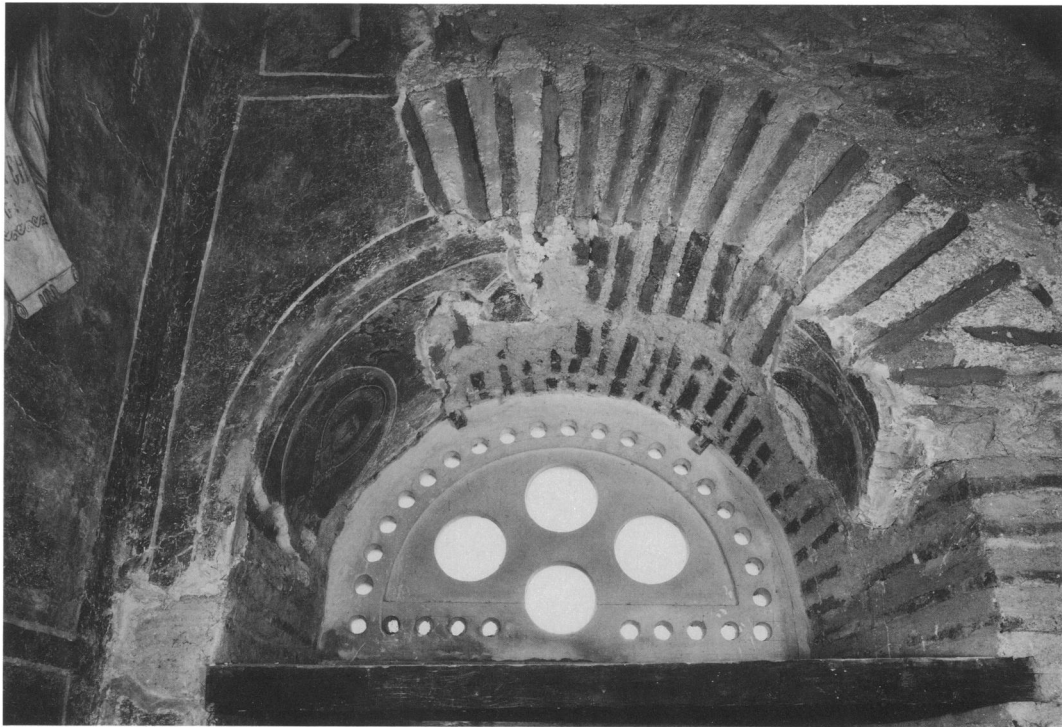
107 North wall, middle register, fragment of Road to Calvary(?)



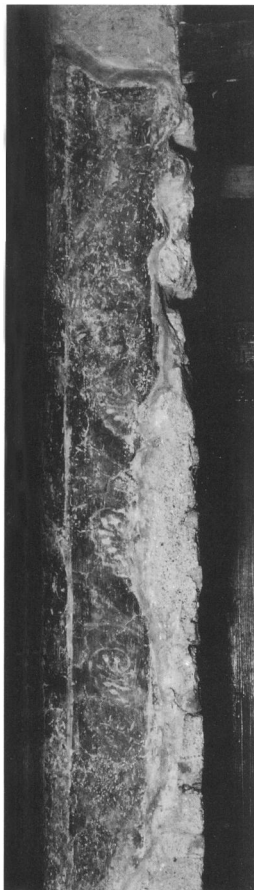
108 North wall, Crucifixion



109 North wall, St. John the Evangelist



110 Window soffit above north door



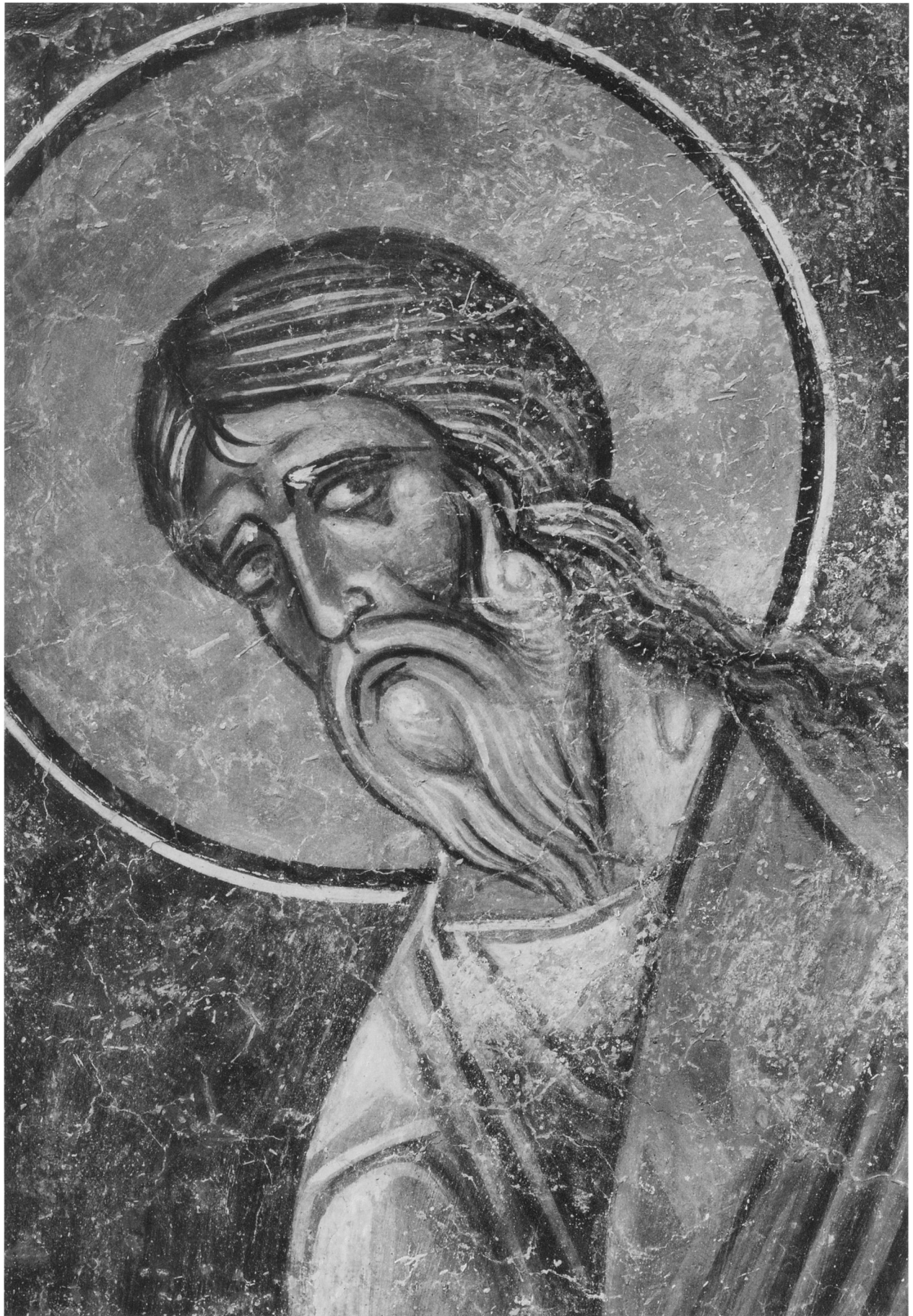
111 Ornament on west jamb of north door



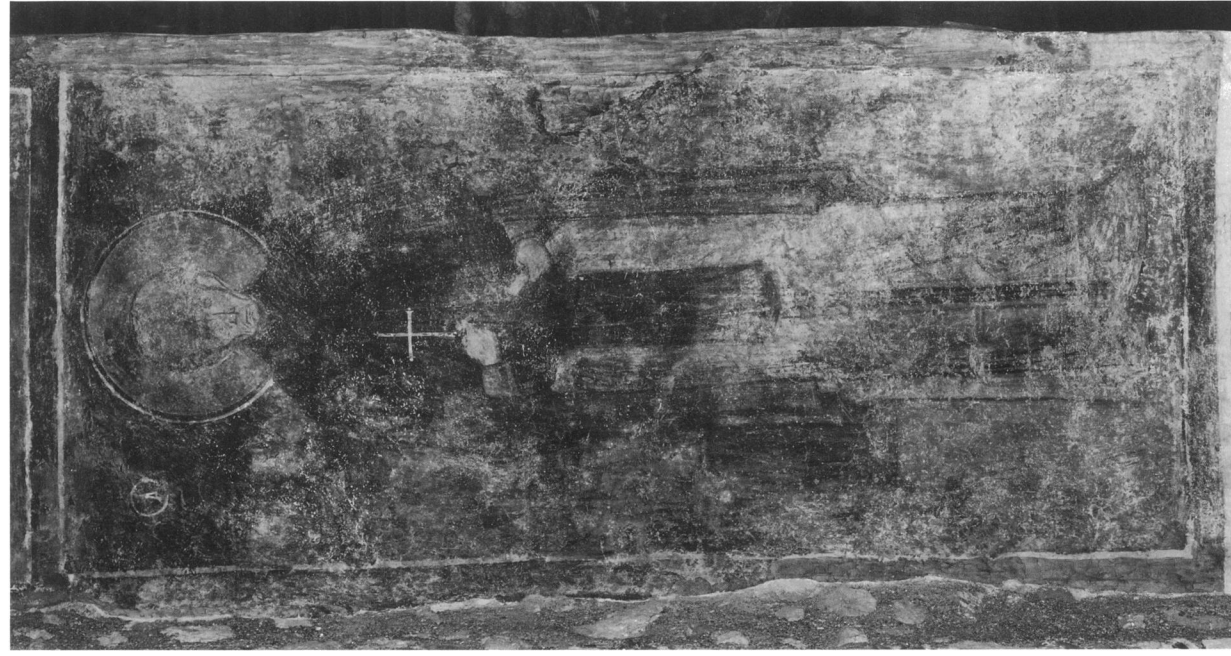
112 Window soffit above north door, Misael



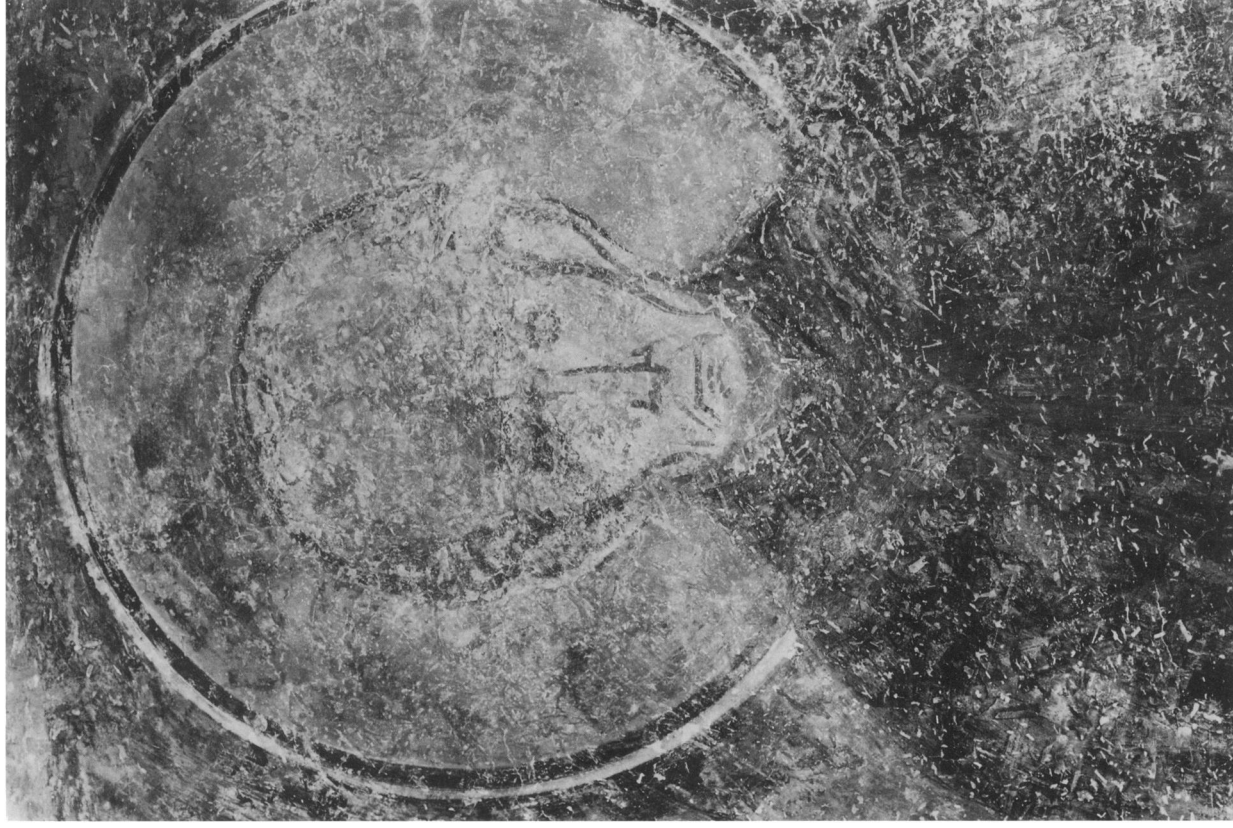
113 East face of southwest pier, Ezekiel



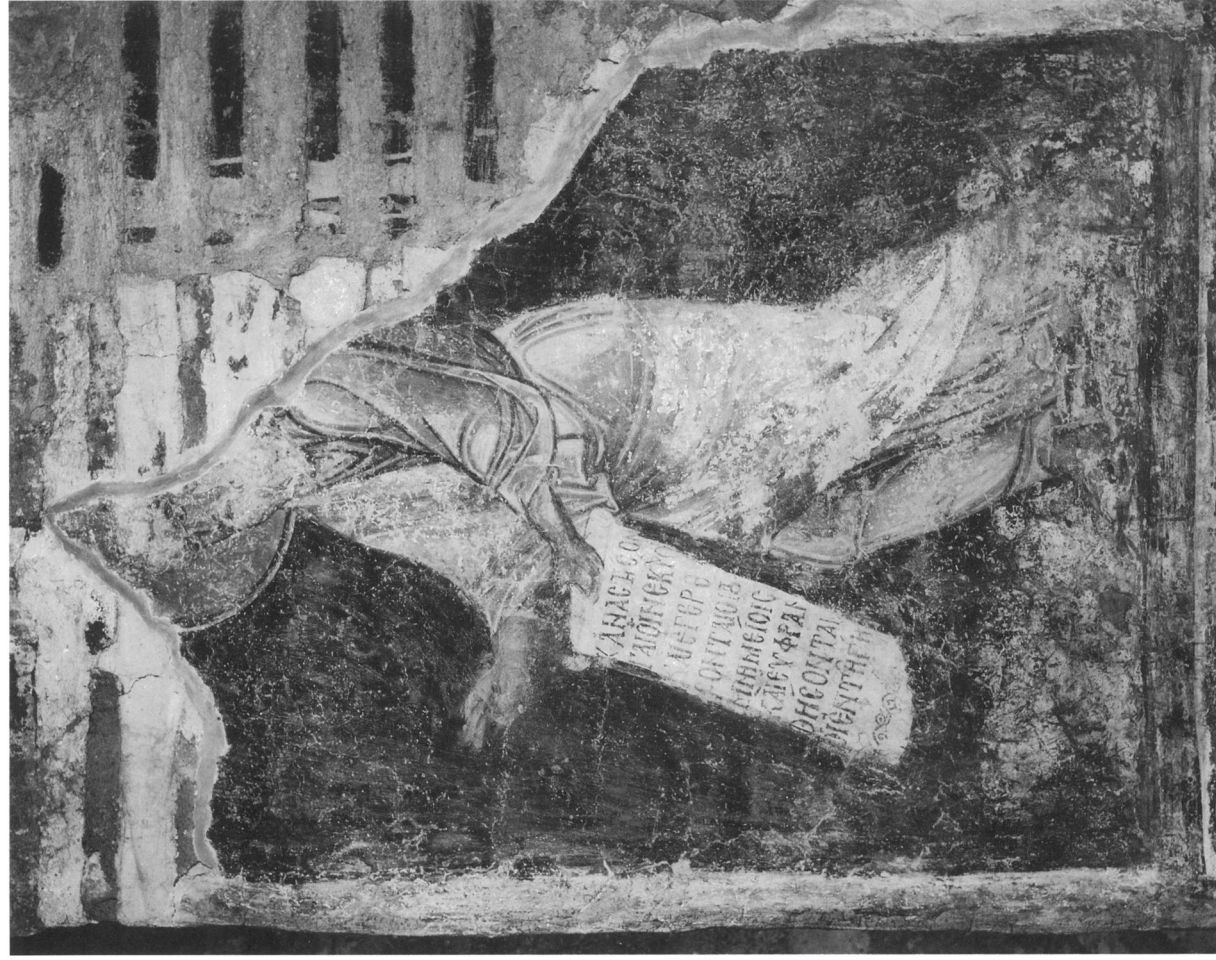
114 Detail of Figure 113, head of Ezekiel



115 East face of southwest pier, monk



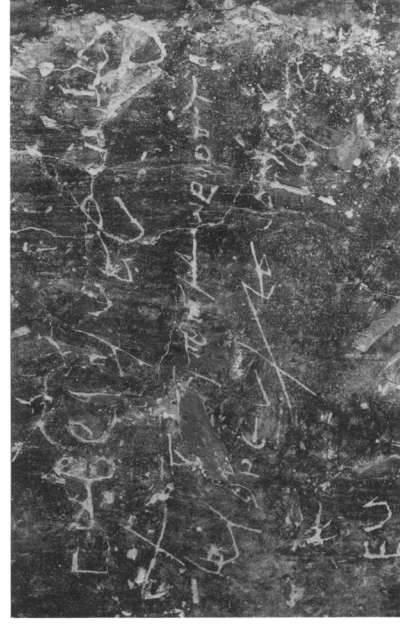
116 Detail of Figure 115, head of monk



117 North face of southwest pier, Isaiah



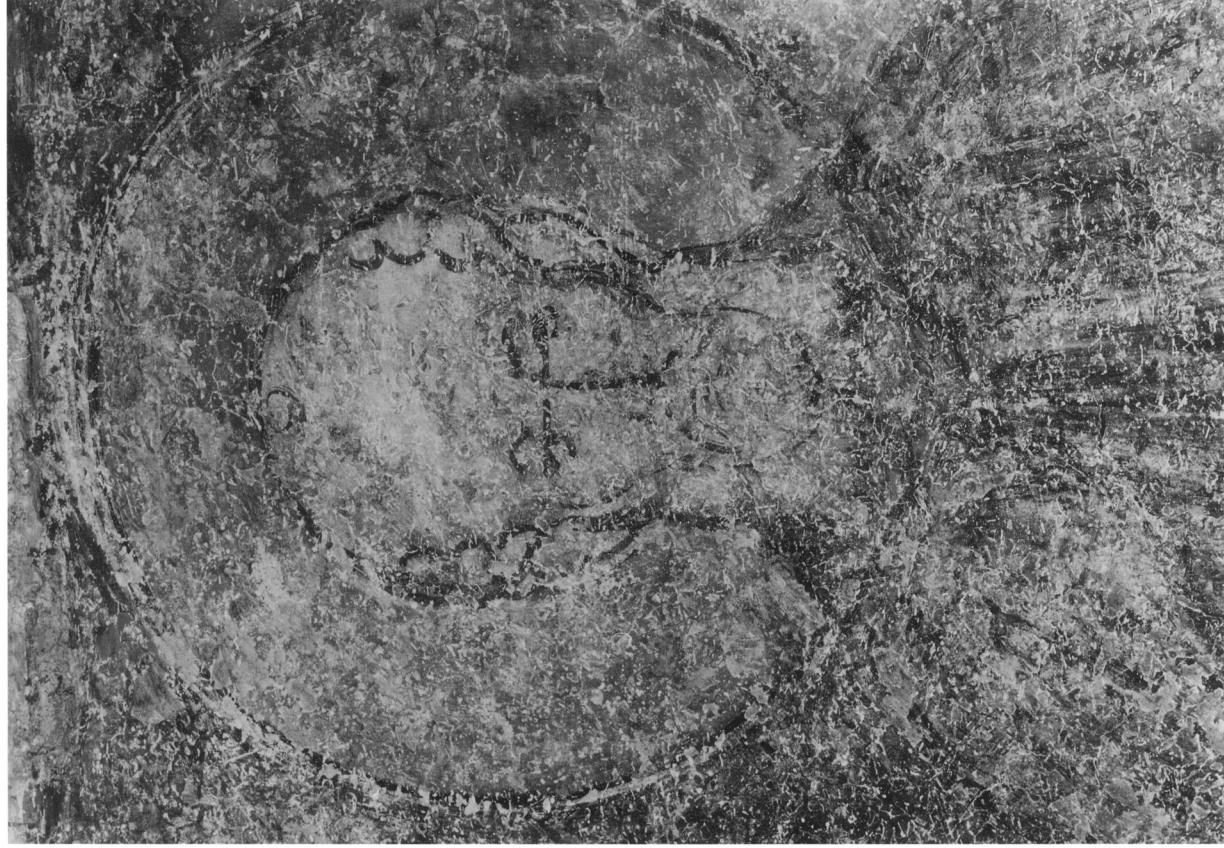
118 Detail of Figure 117, scroll of Isaiah



119 North face of southwest pier, graffiti



120 North face of southwest pier, monk



121 Detail of Figure 120, head of monk



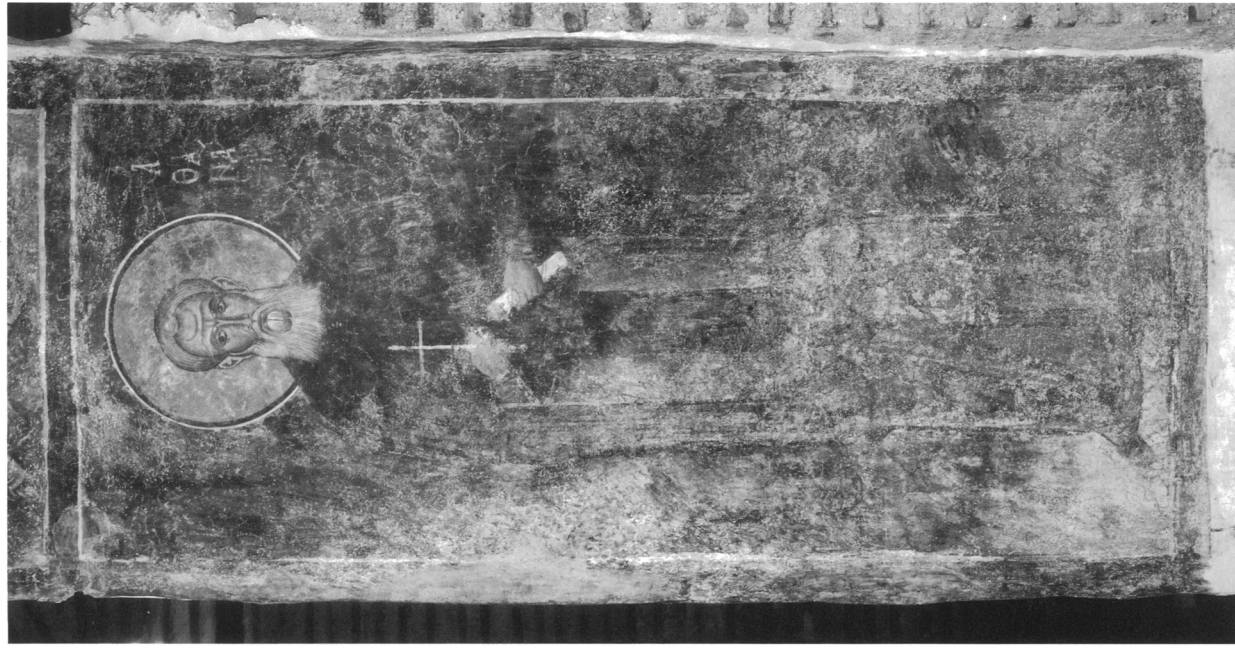
122 East face of northwest pier, Moses



123 Detail of Figure 122, head of Moses



124 Detail of Figure 122, scroll of Moses



125 East face of northwest pier, St. Athanasios



126 Detail of Figure 125, head of St. Athanasios



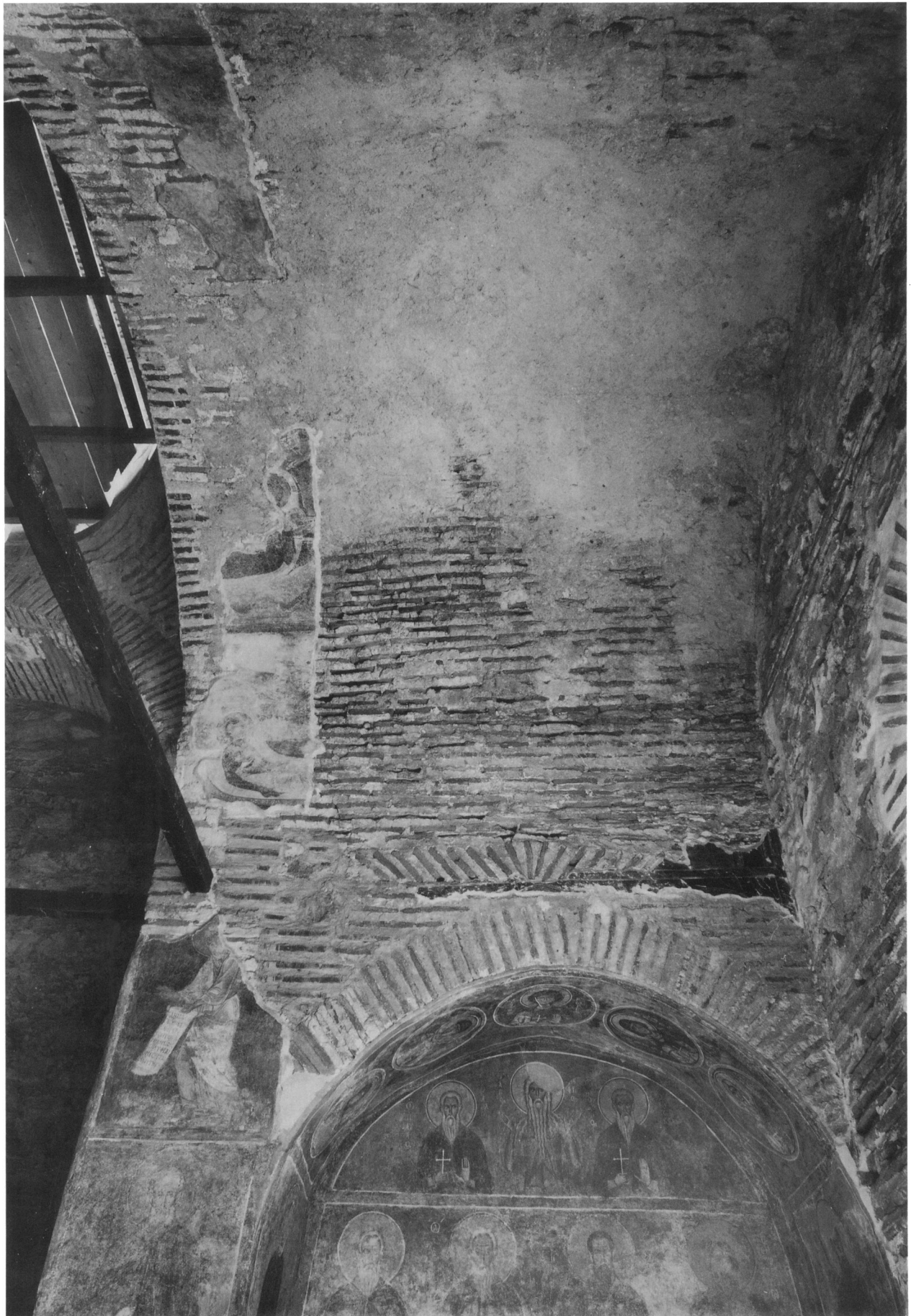
127 South face of northwest pier, prophet



128 South face of northwest pier, monk



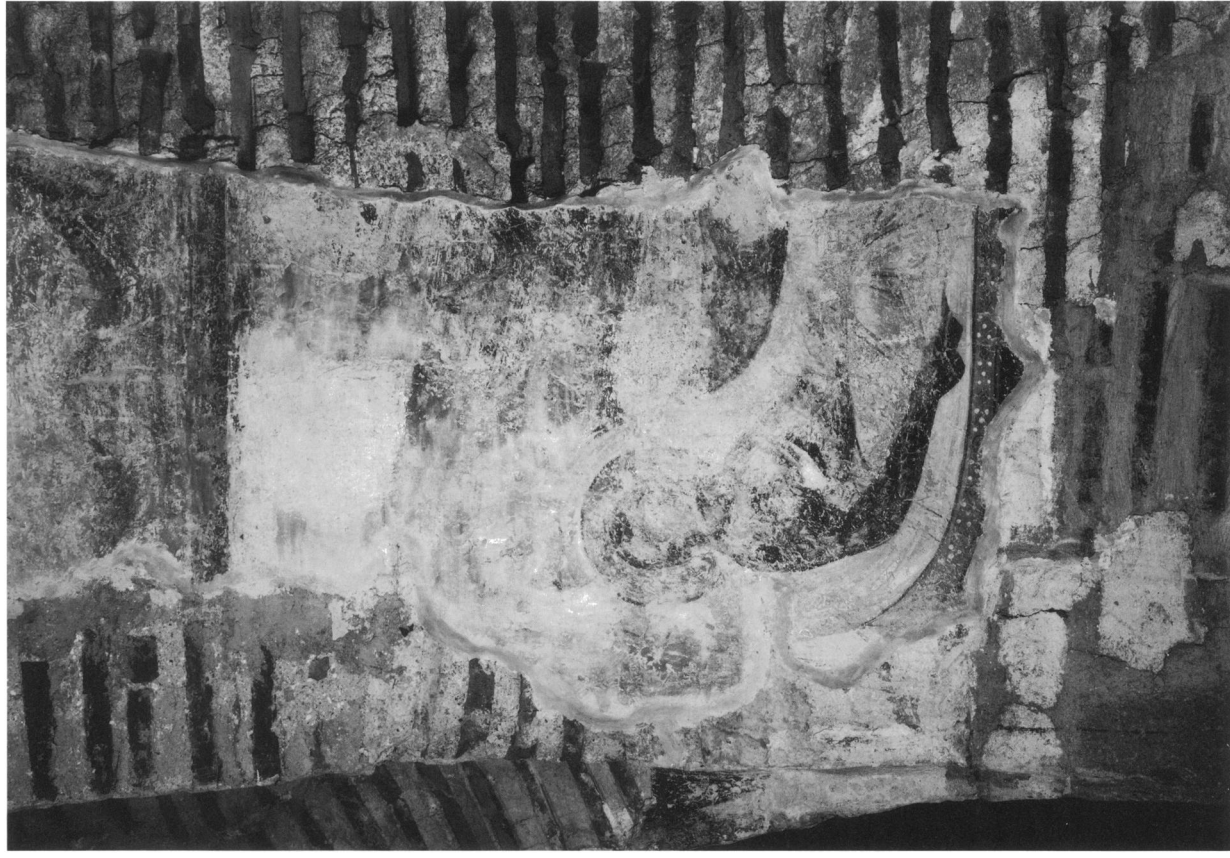
129 Detail of Figure 128, head of monk



130 West vault looking south



131 West vault looking south, Nativity of Christ



132 West vault looking south, Nativity of Virgin Mary



133 West vault looking south, Presentation of Virgin Mary in the Temple, fragment



134 West wall, fragment of standing figure



135 West wall, cross



136 West vault looking north



137 West vault looking north, Koimesis of Virgin Mary



138 West vault looking north, Koimesis, soul of Virgin Mary



139 West vault looking north, Koimesis, heads of Sts. Paul and Andrew



140 Southwest recess, general view



141 Southwest recess, arch



142 Southwest recess, arch, first medallion from east



143 Second medallion from east, St. Demetrios



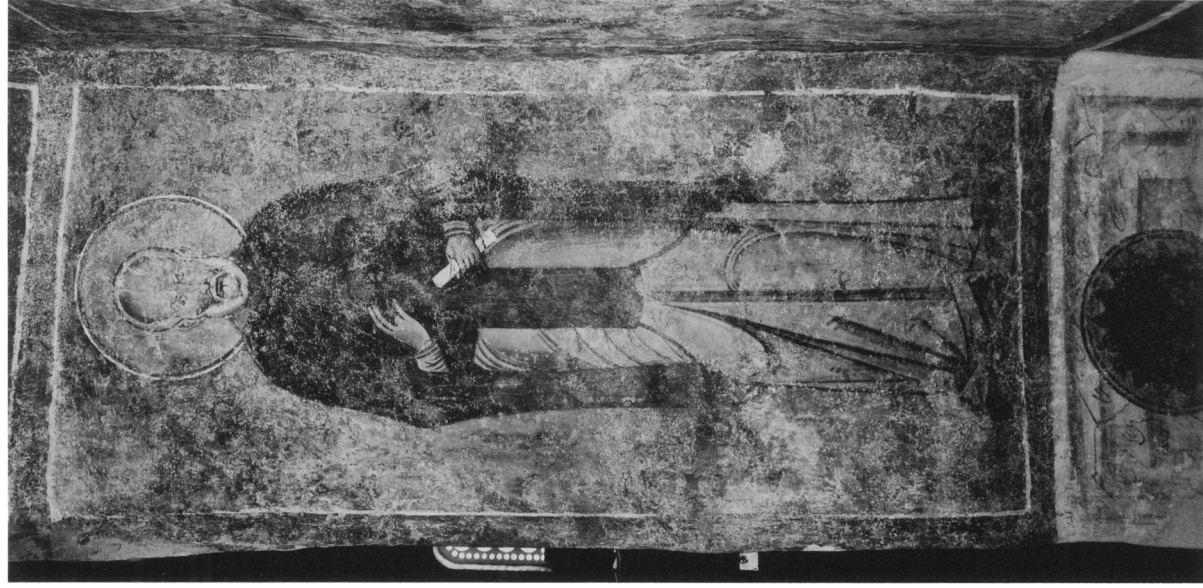
144 Central medallion, St. George



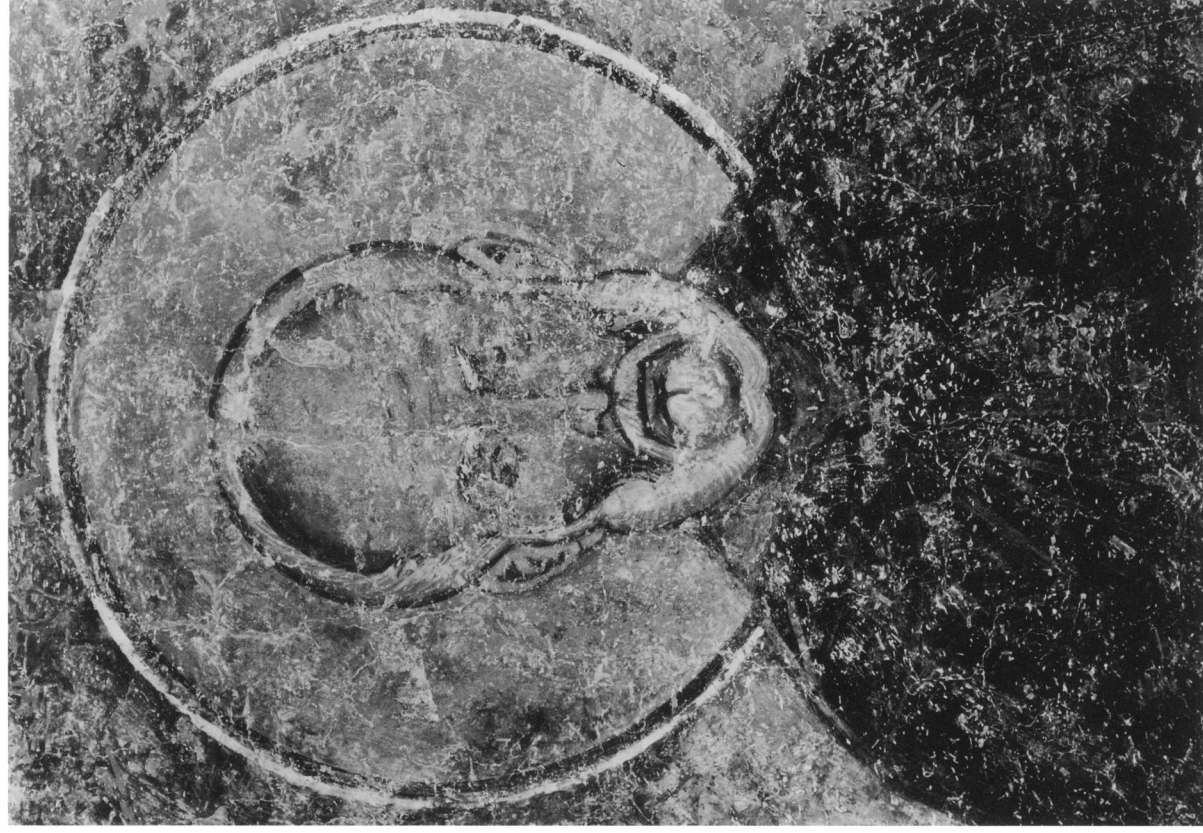
145 Fourth medallion from east, St. Prokopios



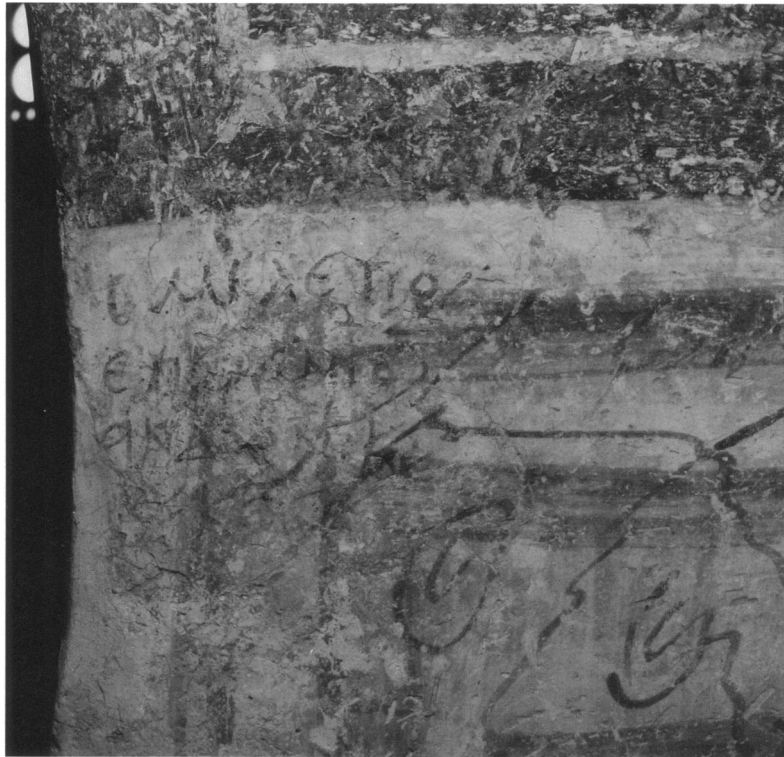
146 Fifth medallion from east, St. Eusignios



147 Southwest recess, east wall, monk



148 Detail of Figure 147, head of monk



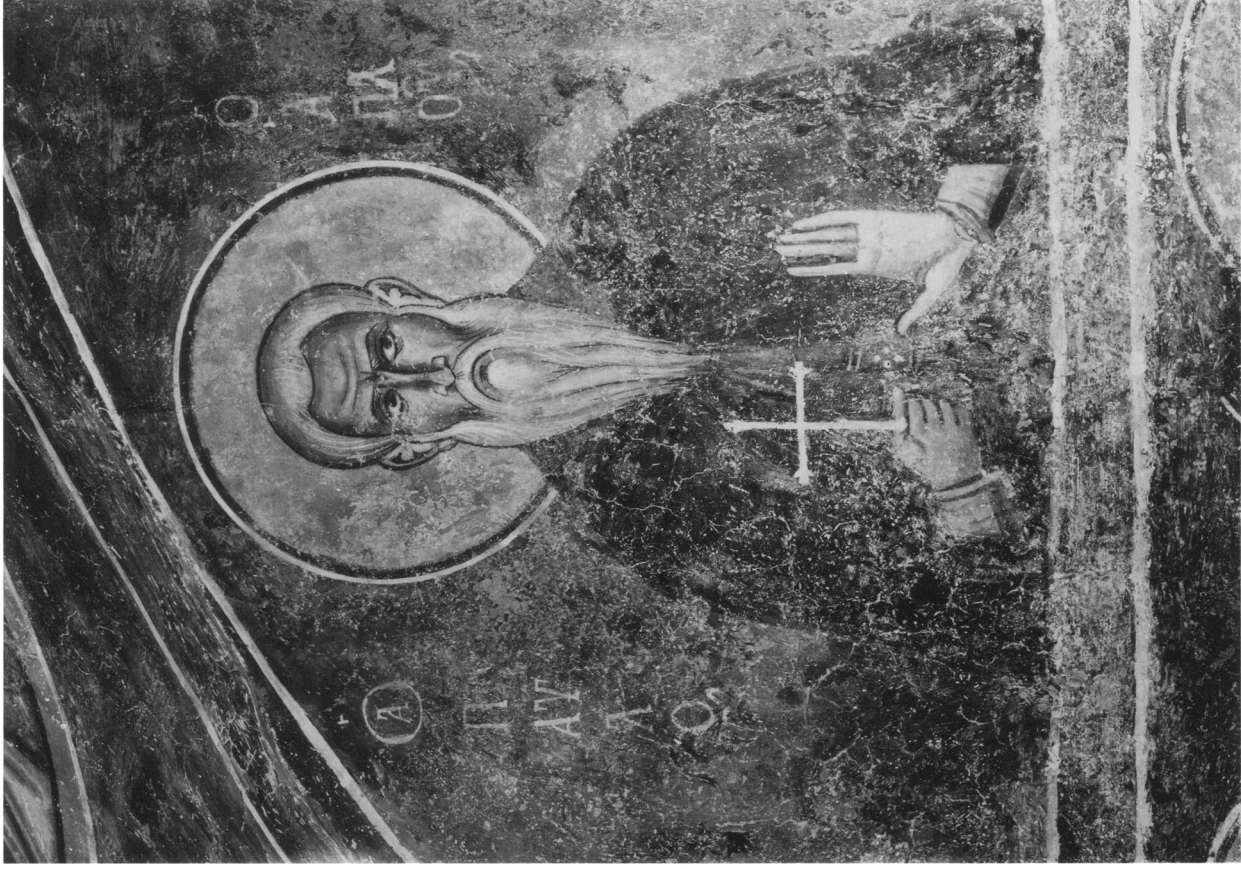
149 Southwest recess, east wall, inscription on dado



150 Southwest recess, lunette



151 Southwest recess, lunette, St. Onouphrios



152 Southwest recess, lunette, St. Paul the Simpleton



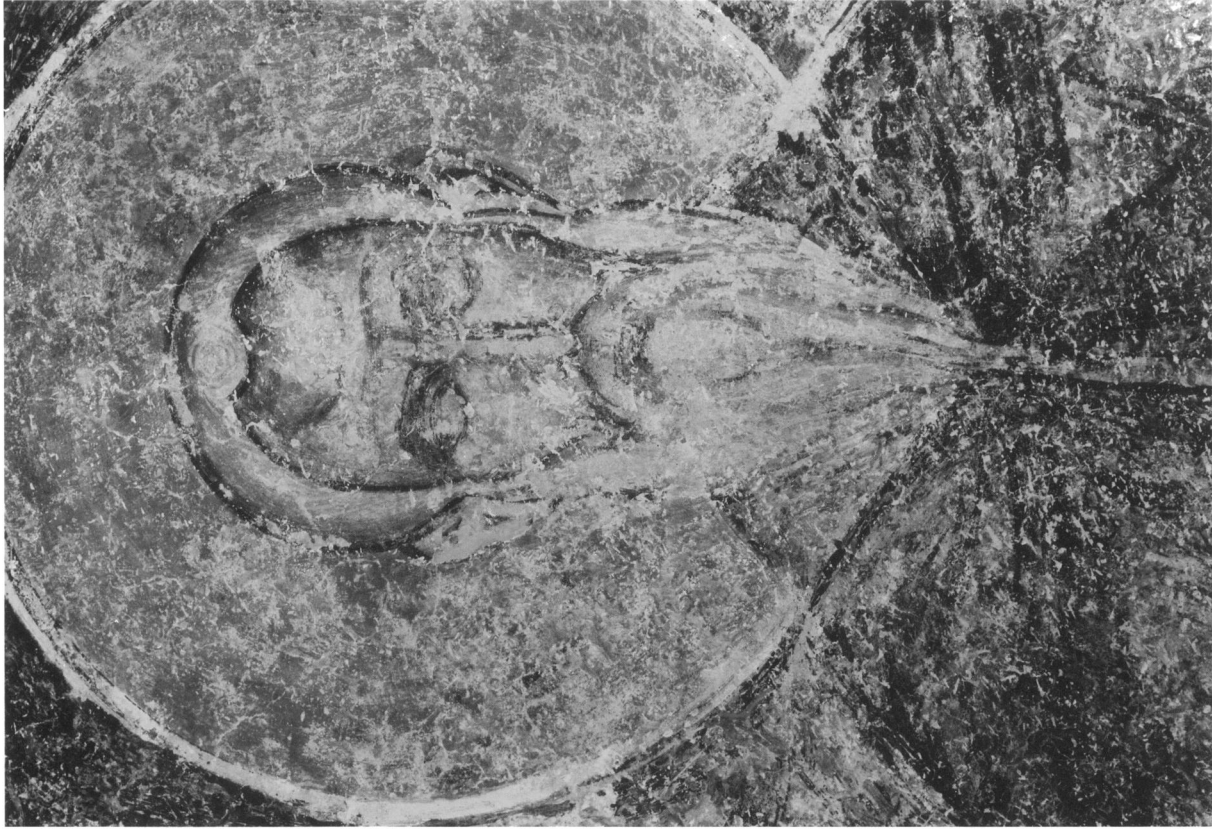
153 Southwest recess, lunette, St. Theodosios of Skopelos



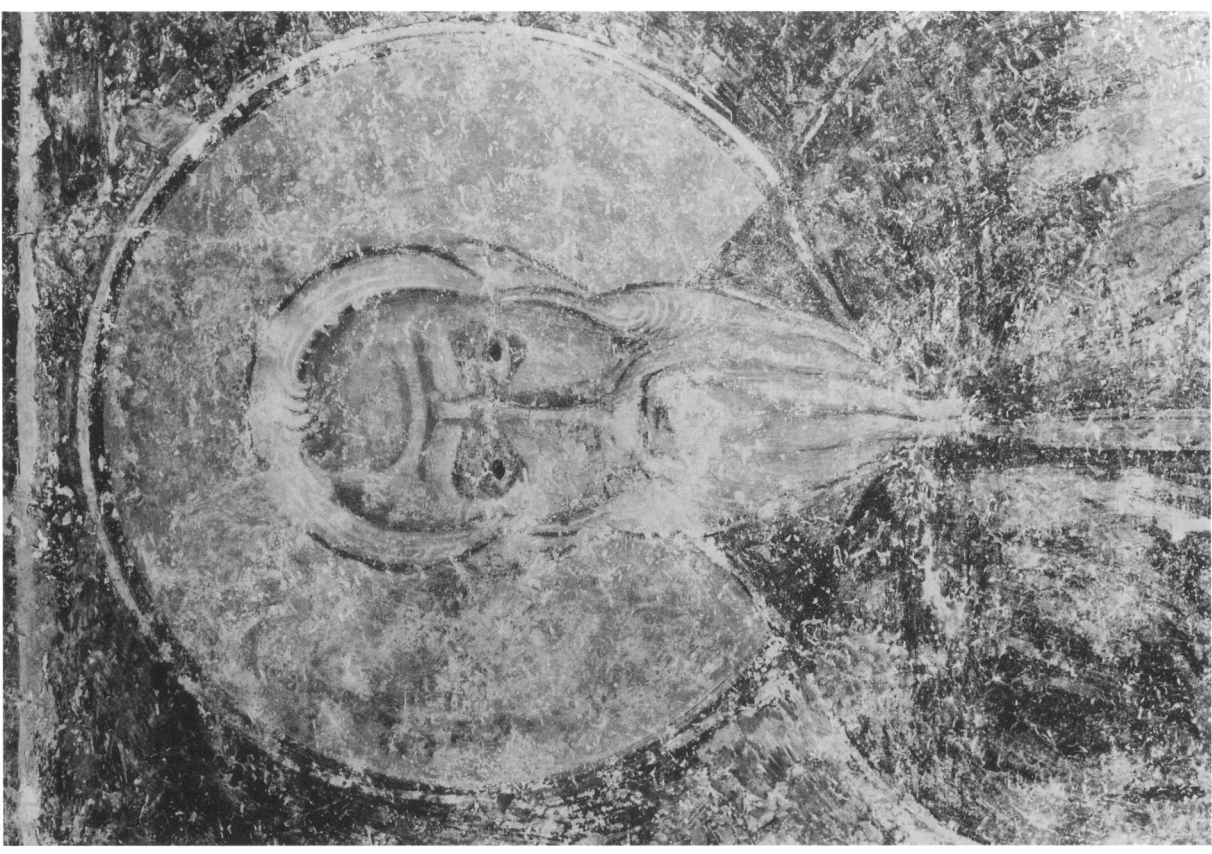
154 Southwest recess, back wall, Sts. Meletios and Epiphianos



155 Southwest recess, back wall, Sts. Andronikos and Luke of Stiris



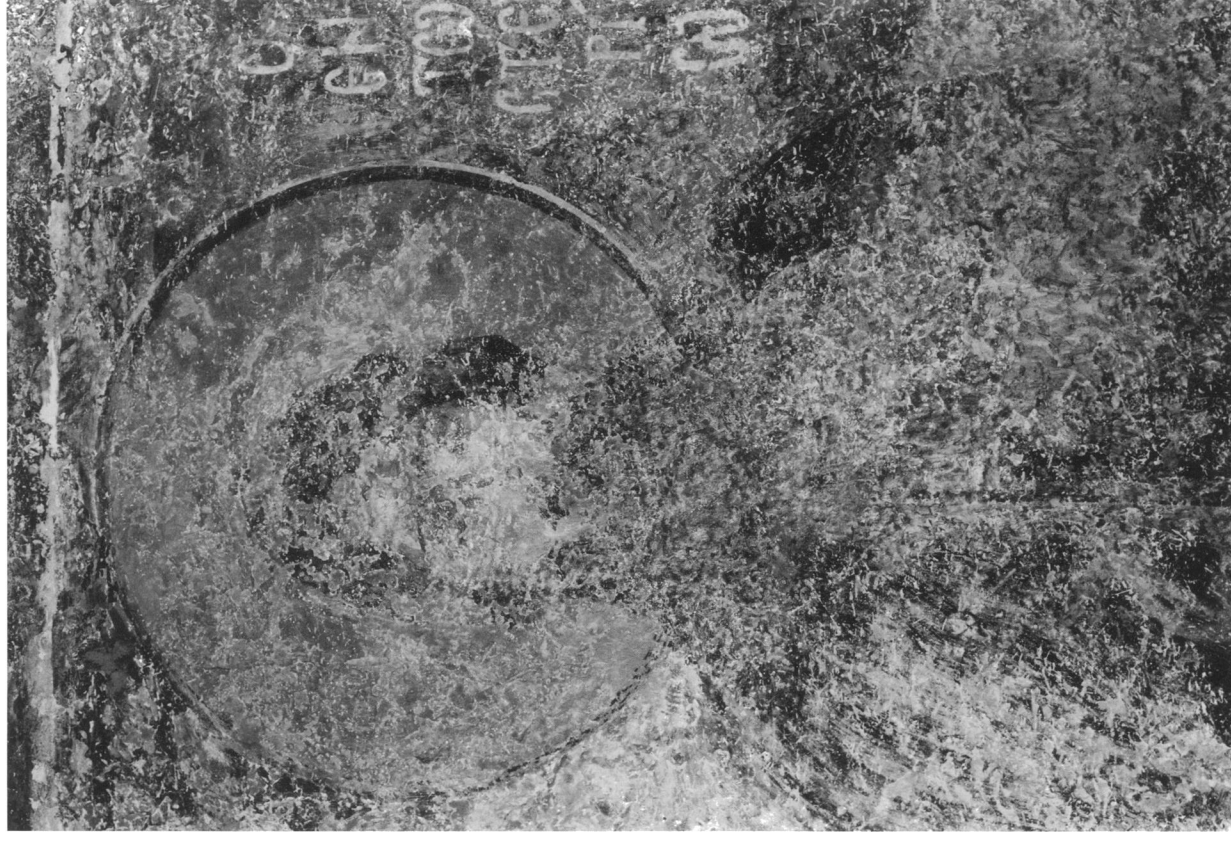
156 Southwest recess, back wall, head of St. Meletios



157 Southwest recess, back wall, head of St. Epiphanius



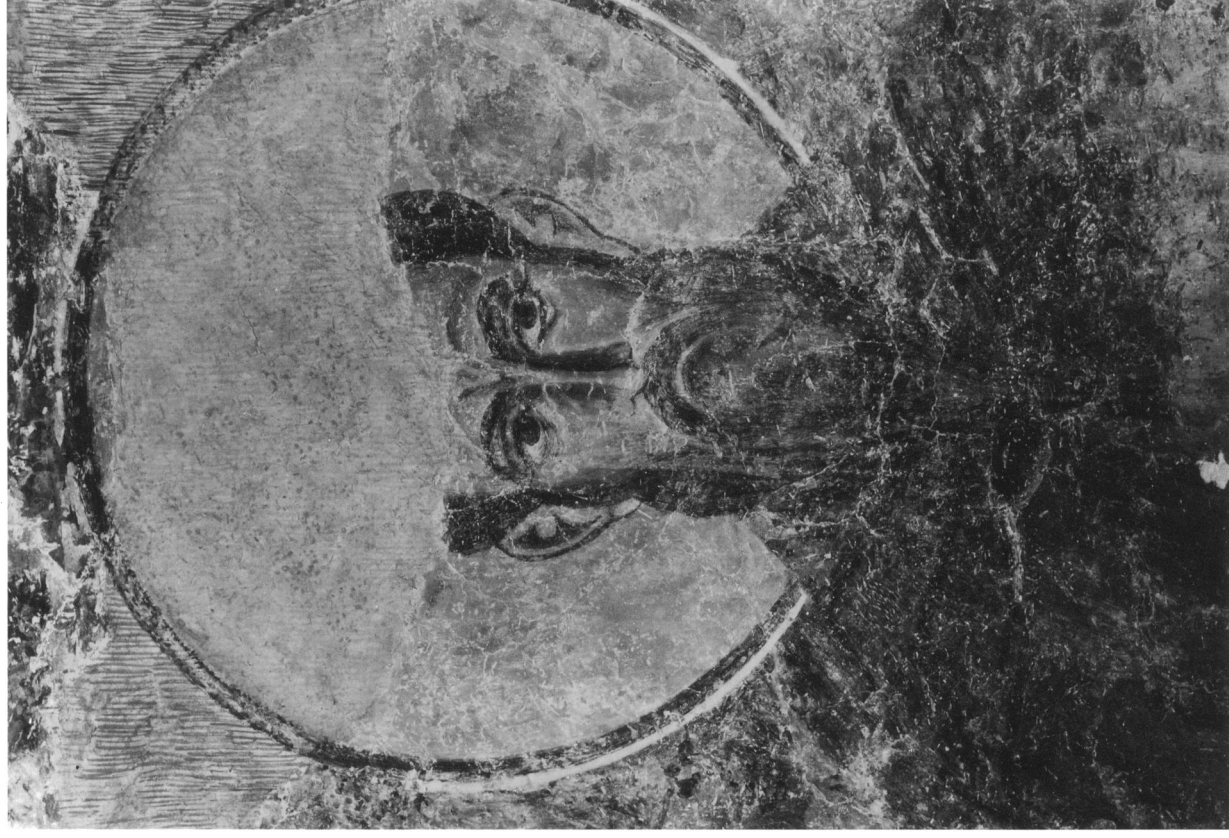
158 Southwest recess, back wall, head of St. Andronikos



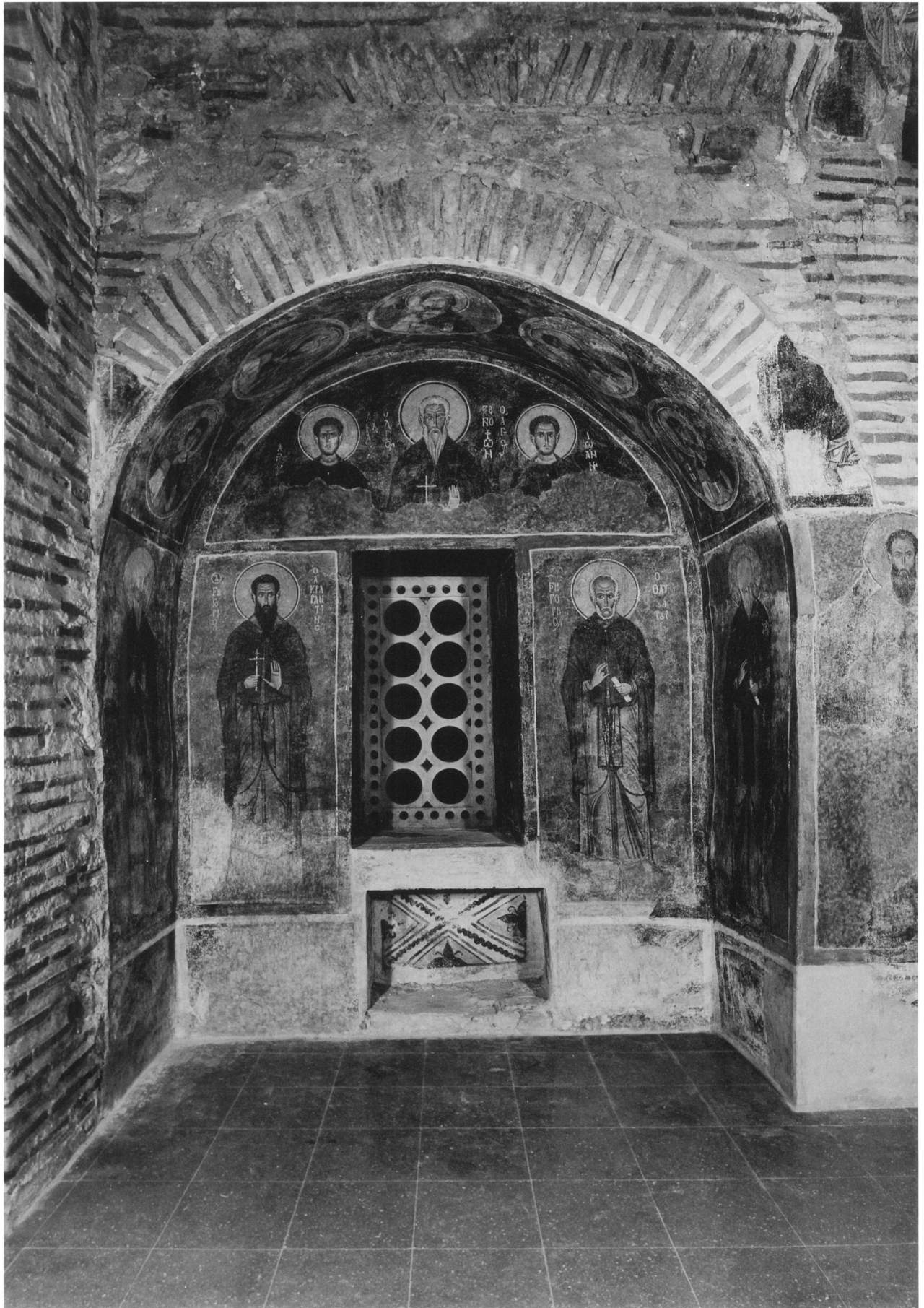
159 Southwest recess, back wall, head of St. Luke of Stiris



160 Southwest recess, west wall, monk



161 Detail of Figure 160, head of monk



162 Northwest recess, general view





164 Northwest recess, arch, first medallion from east, St. James the Persian



165 Second medallion from east



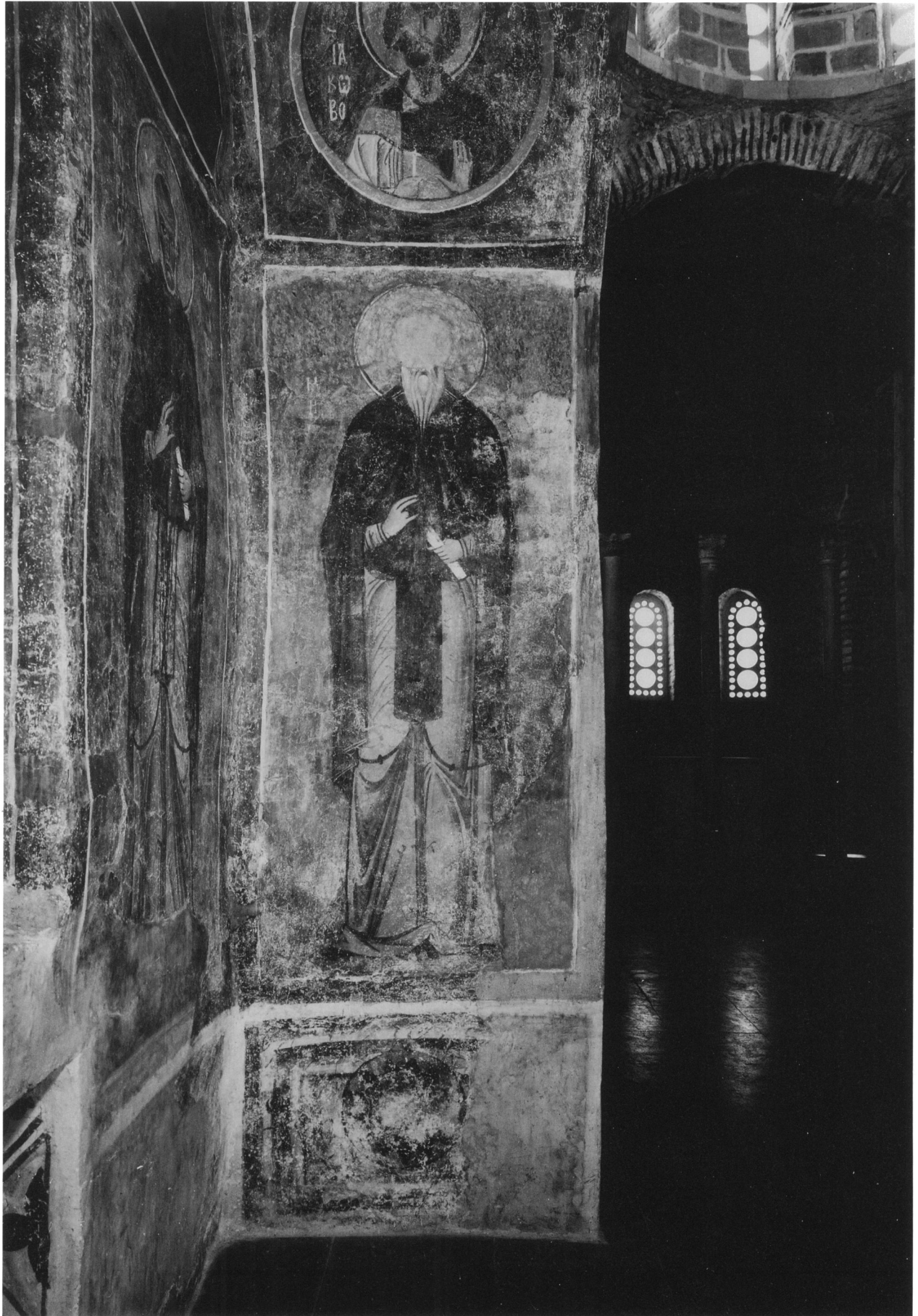
166 Central medallion



167 Fourth medallion from east



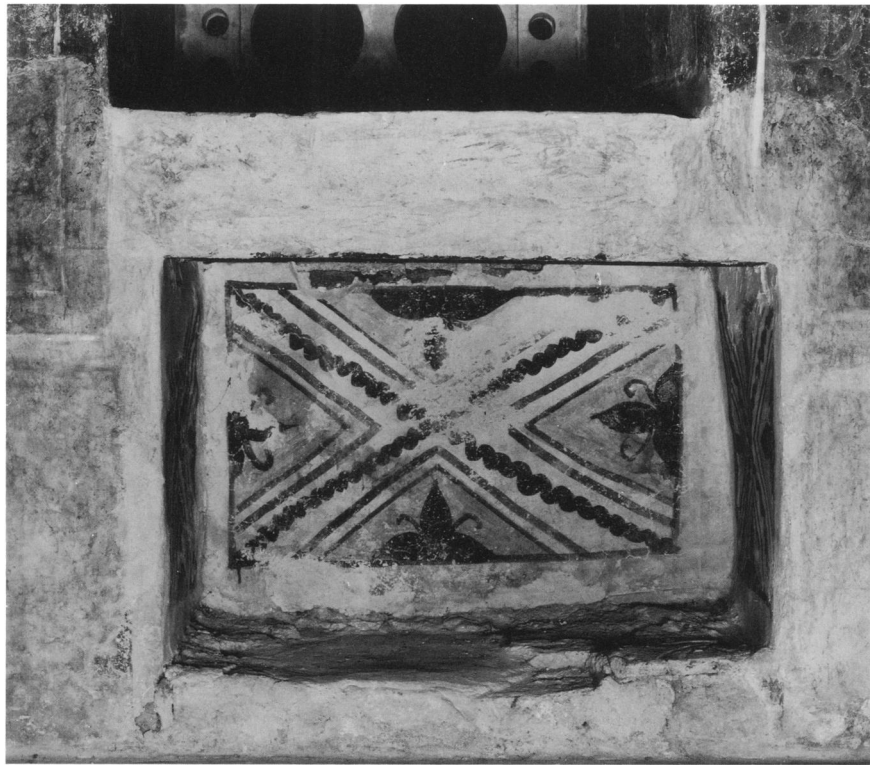
168 Fifth medallion from east



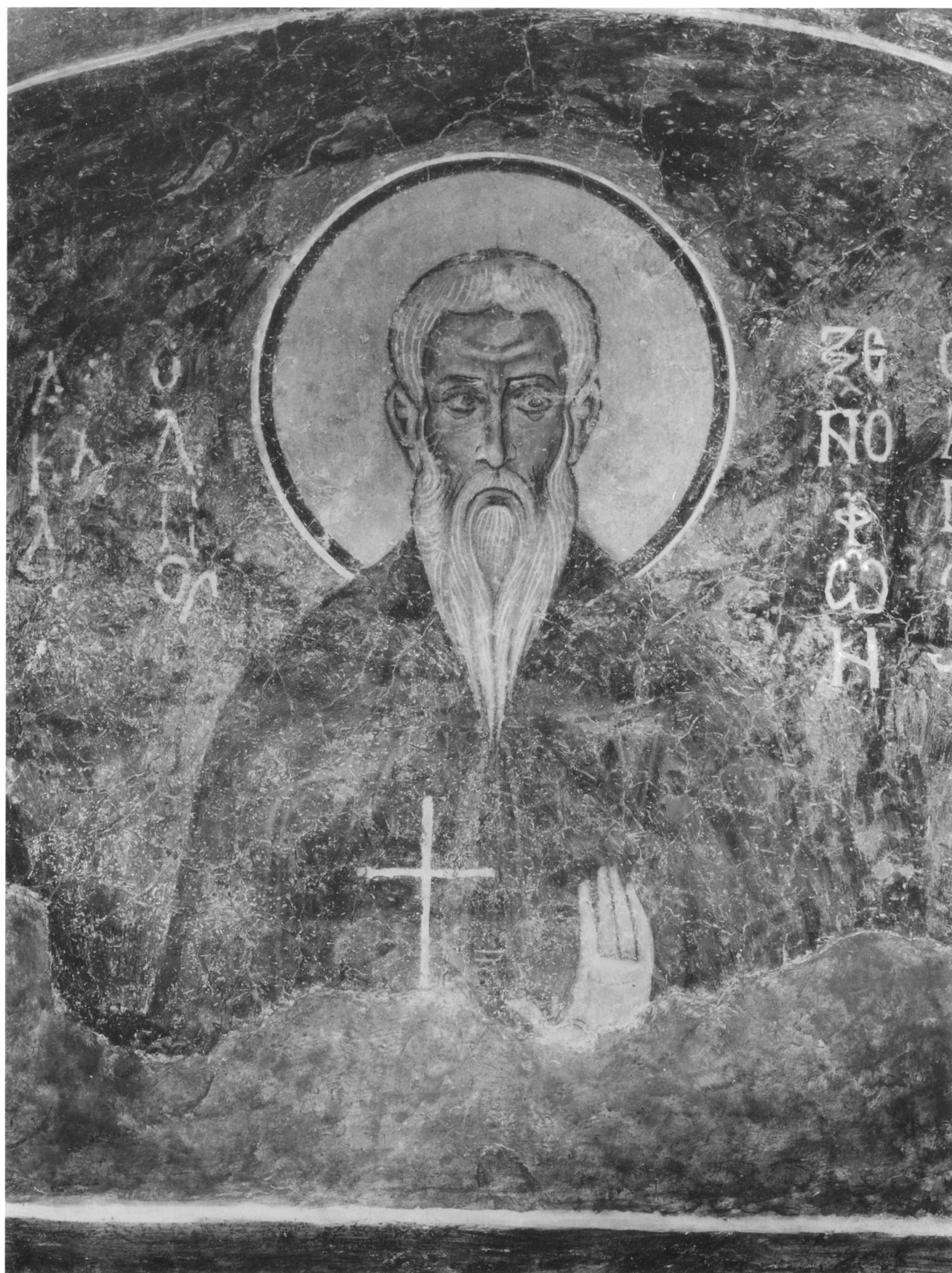
169 Northwest recess, east wall, St. Clement(?)



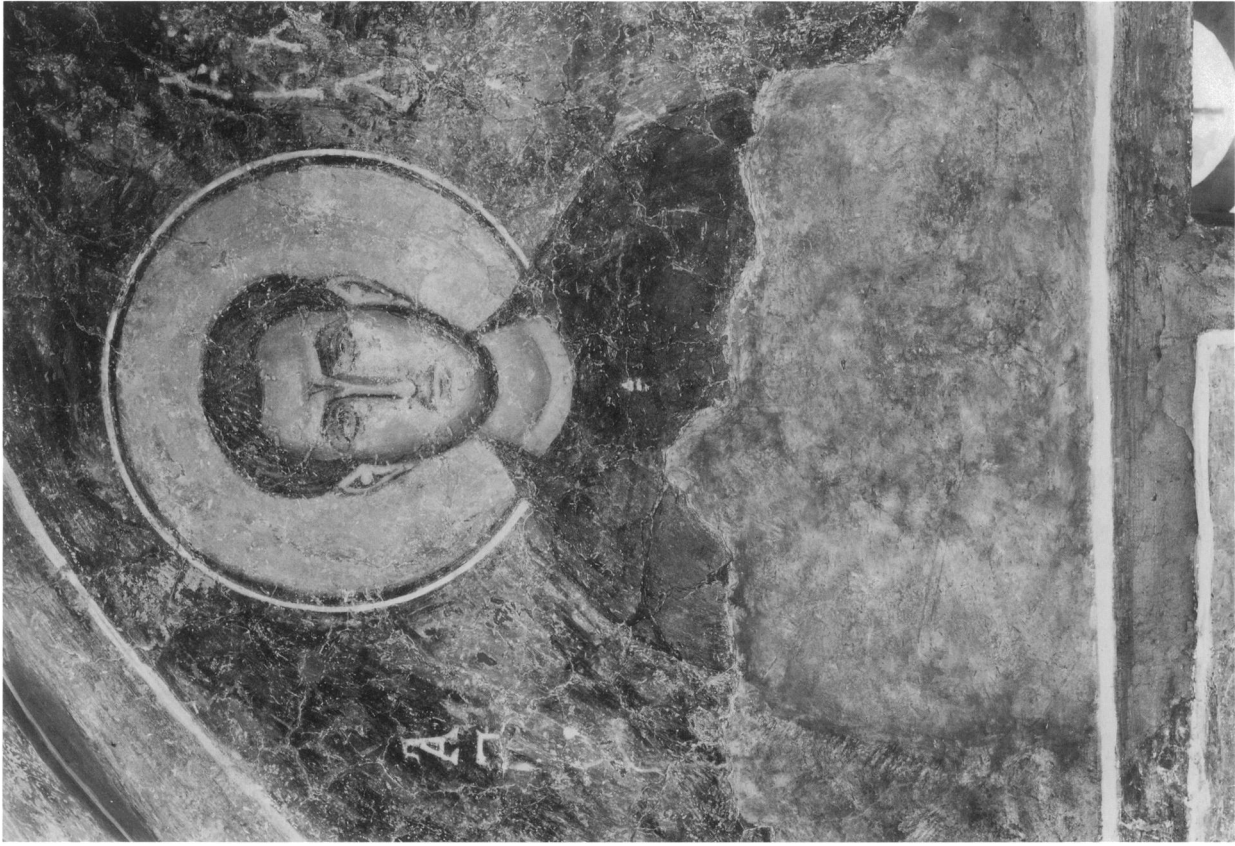
170 Northwest recess, lunette



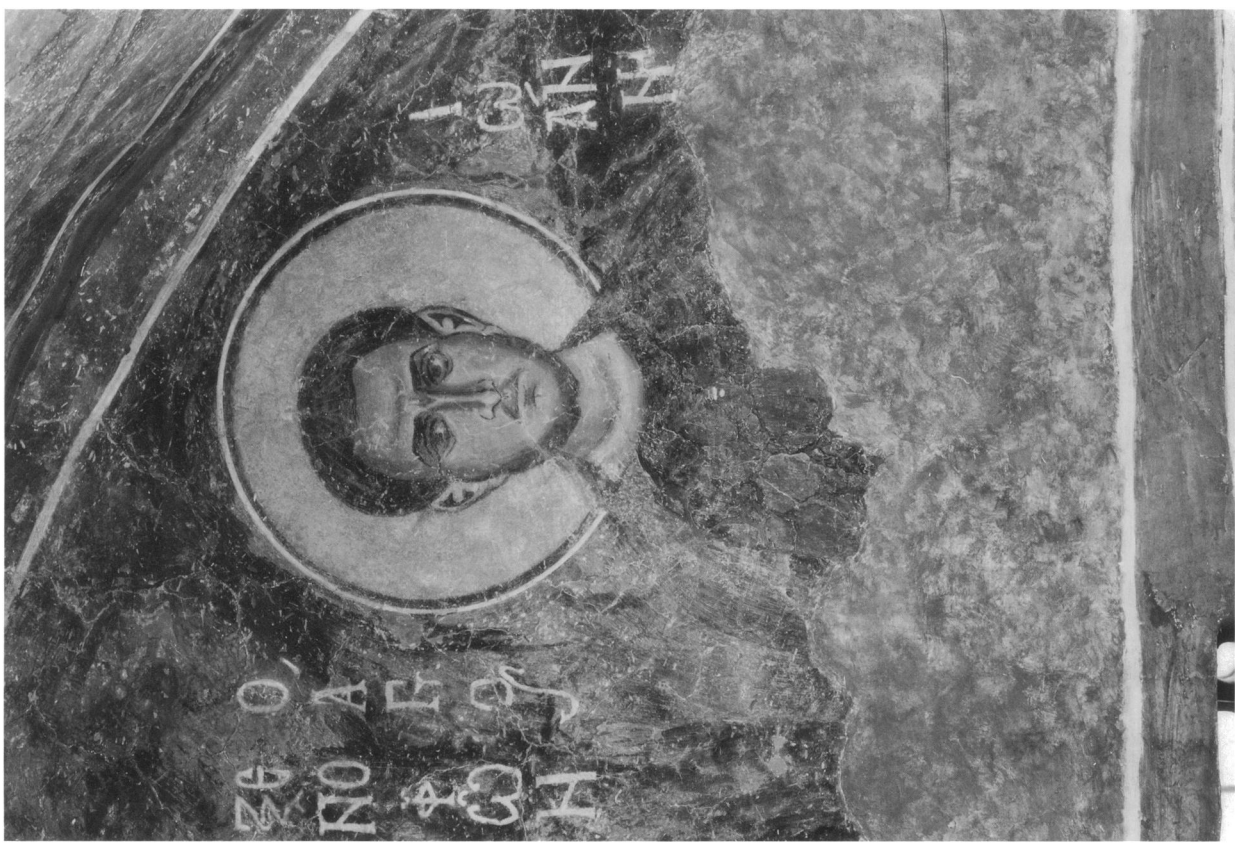
171 Northwest recess, cavity under window



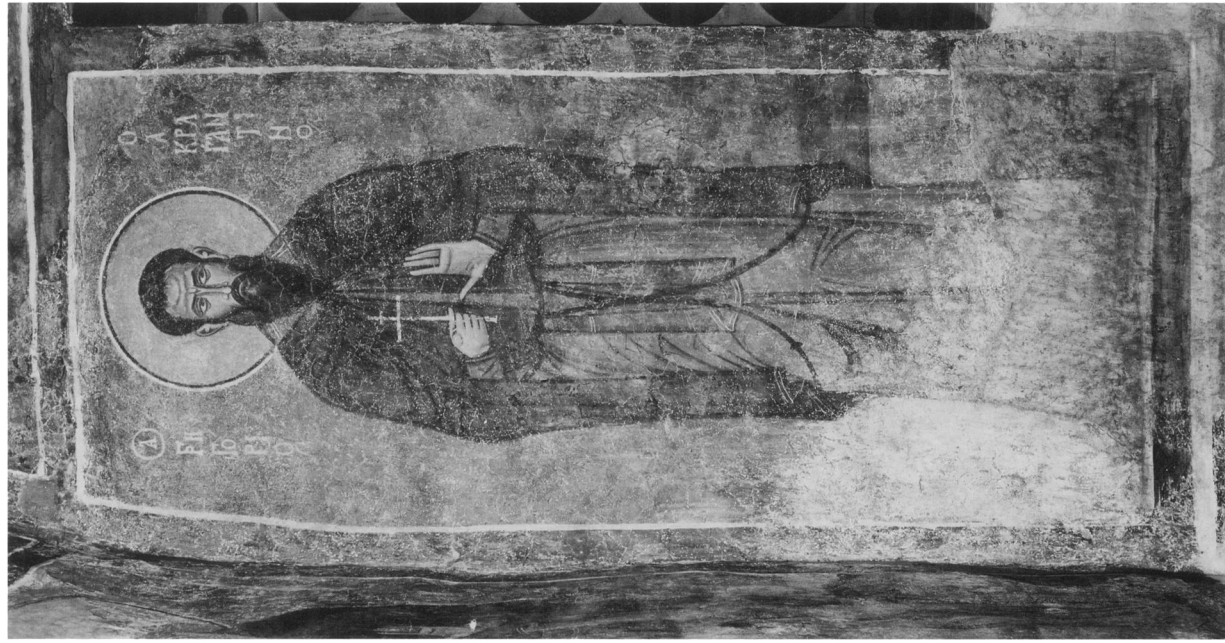
172 Northwest recess, lunette, St. Xenophon



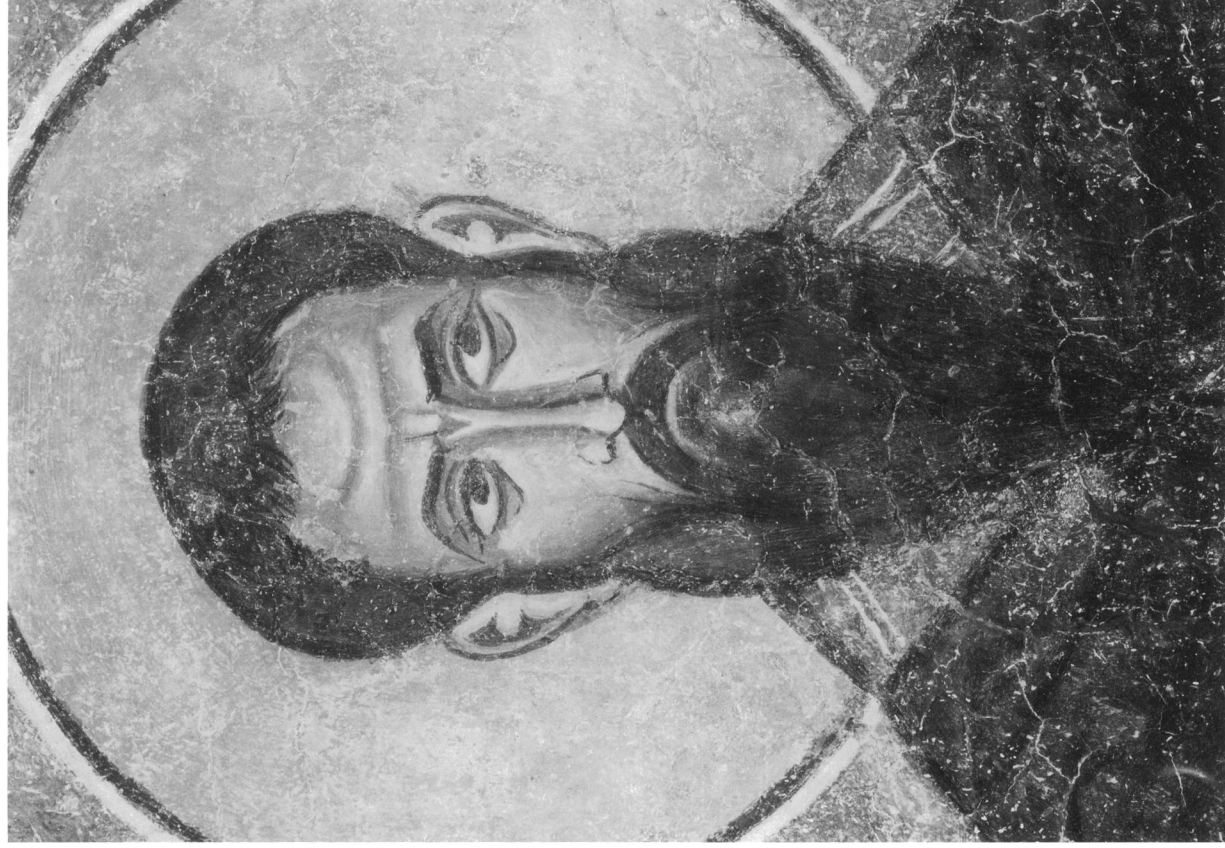
173 Northwest recess, lunette, St. Arkadios



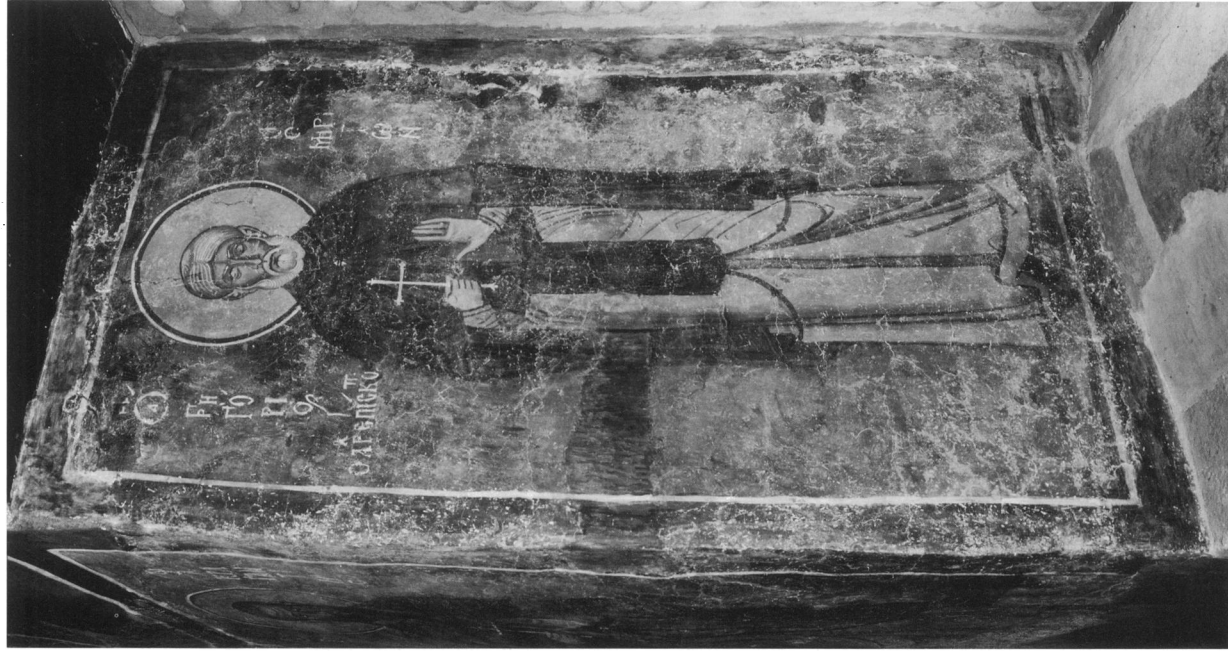
174 Northwest recess, lunette, St. John



175 Northwest recess, back wall,
St. Gregory of Agrigento



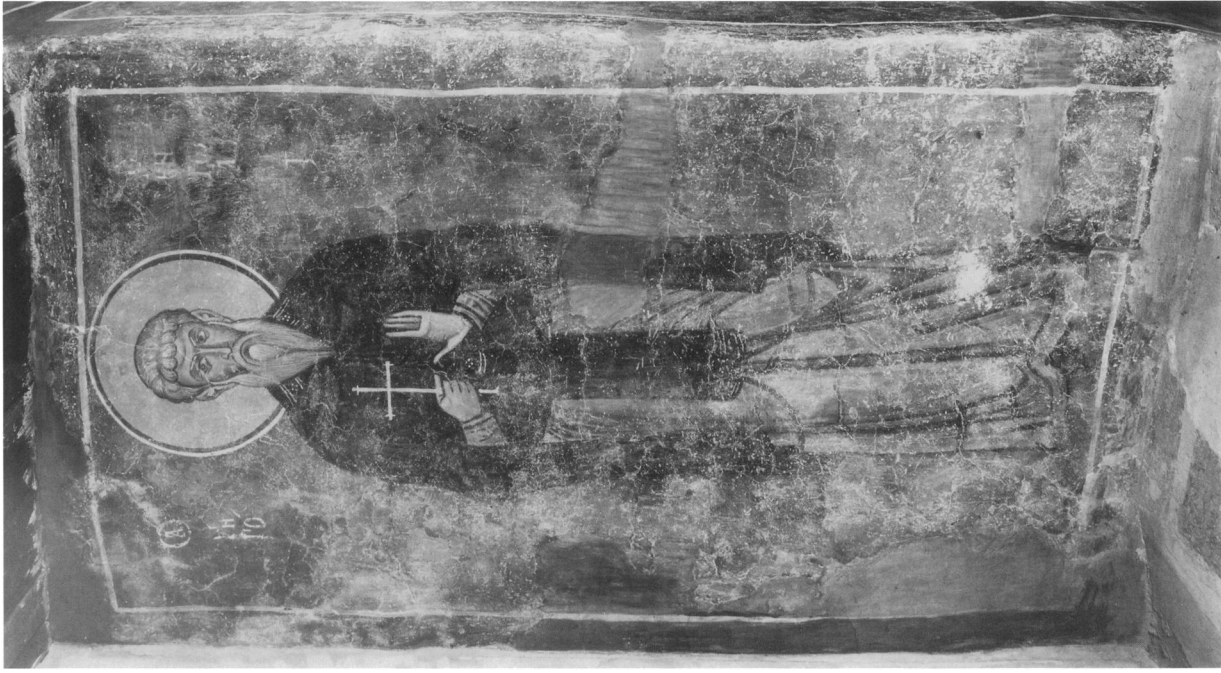
176 Detail of Figure 175, head of St. Gregory of Agrigento



177 Northwest recess, west reveal of window,
St. Gregory, bishop of the Himyarites



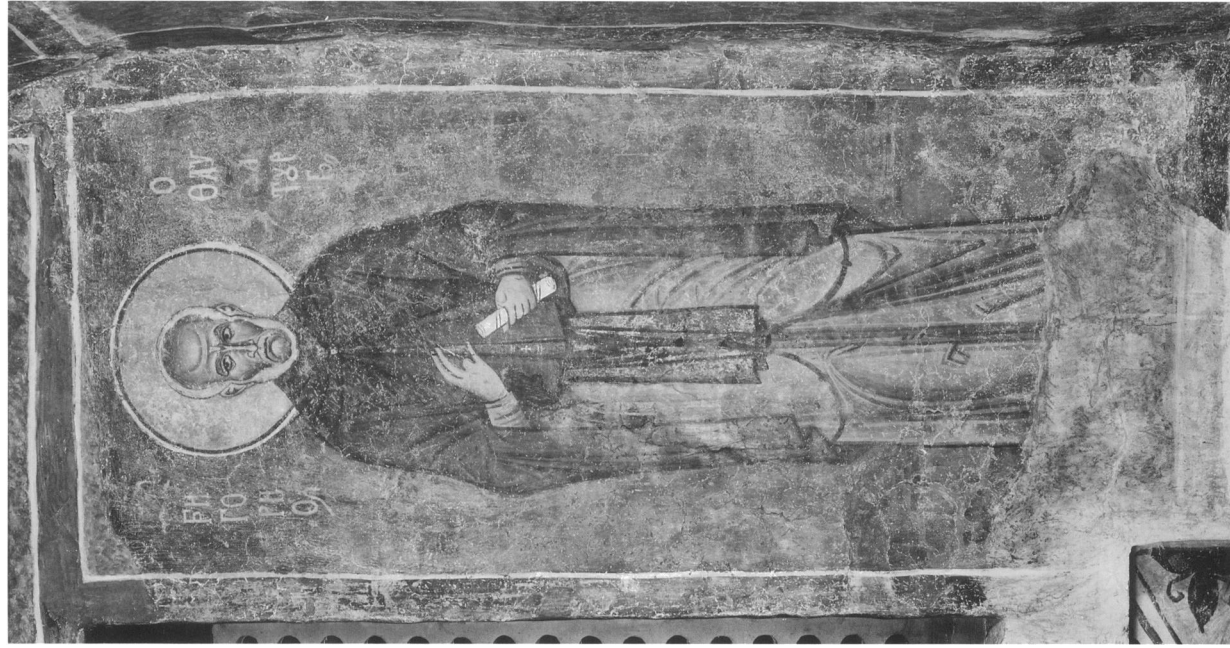
178 Detail of Figure 177, head of St. Gregory, bishop of the Himyarites



179 Northwest recess, east reveal of window,
St. Gregory of Cape Akritas



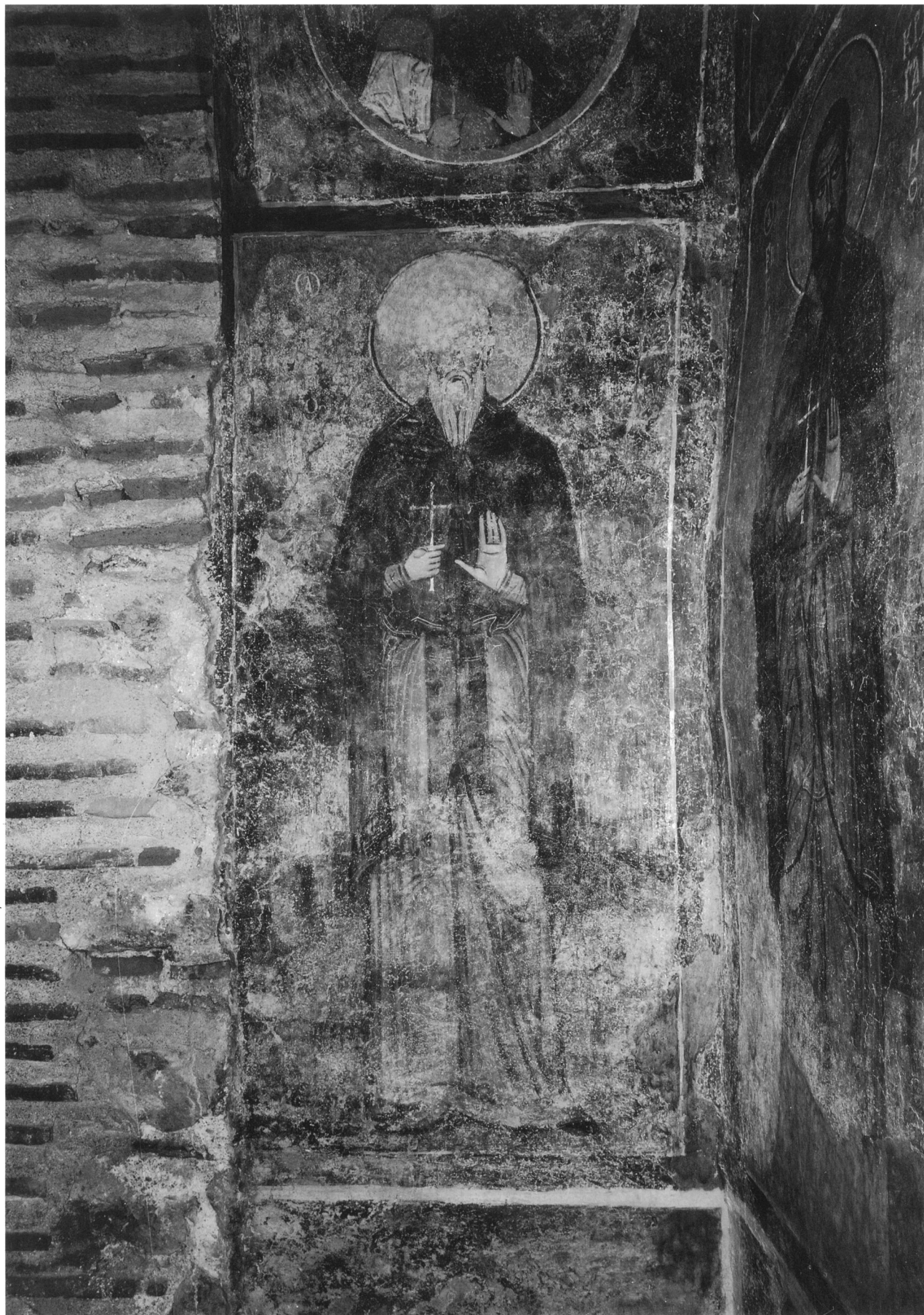
180 Detail of Figure 179, head of St. Gregory of Cape Akritas



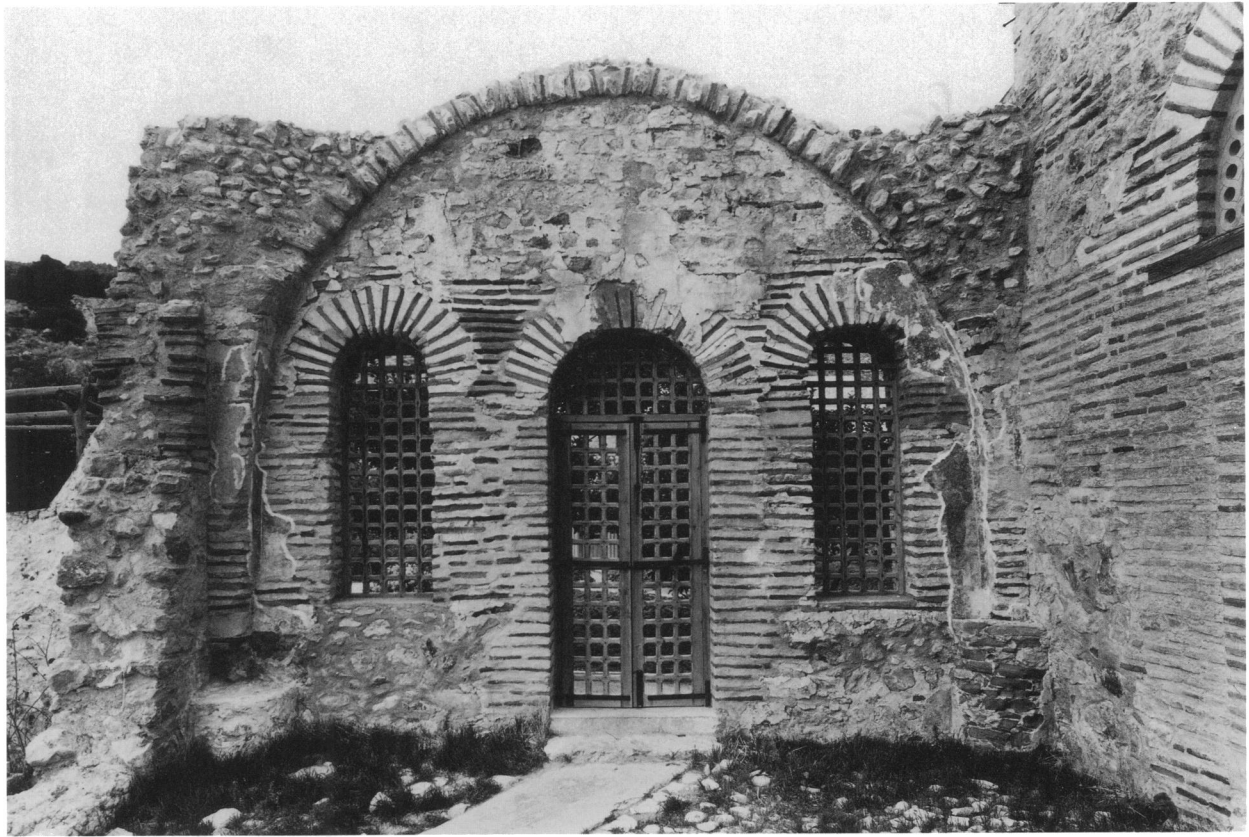
181 Northwest recess, back wall,
St. Gregory Thaumaturgos



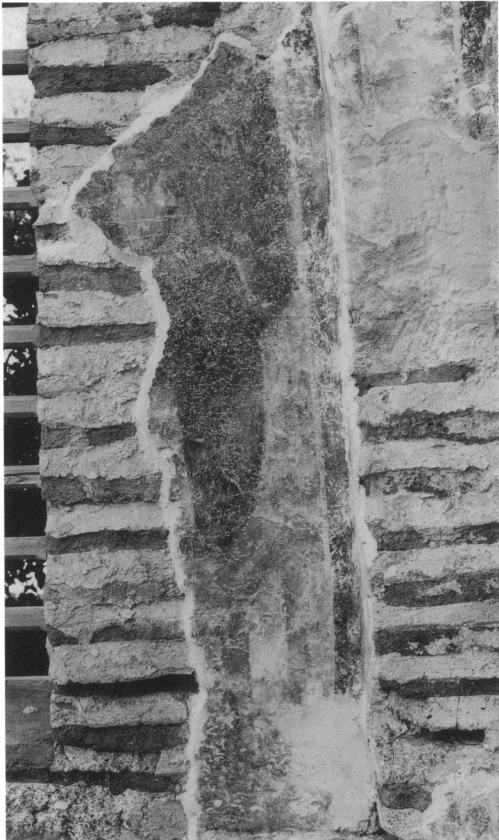
182 Detail of Figure 181, bust of St. Gregory Thaumaturgos



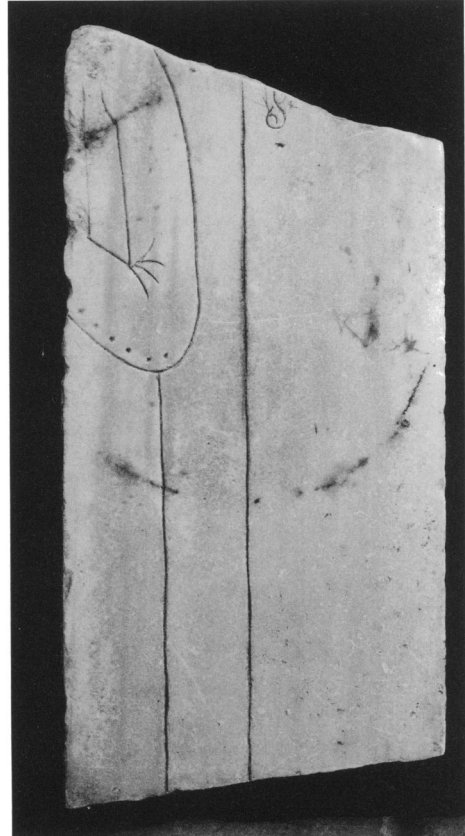
183 Northwest recess, west wall, monk



184 Narthex, north wall



185 Narthex, north wall, fragment of seated monk



186 Loose fragment of funerary slab

arm which corresponds to that of the last figure in the group of soldiers who holds a torch.

The figure of Christ is lost, but a fragment of the rim of his halo shows that he was indeed standing in the center of the composition. One would expect Judas to have been approaching him from the right; the faint outline of his head may possibly be detected, though not with any certainty. Farther to the right is a compact group of soldiers (Fig. 104). The tops of three heads are clearly visible and behind them was probably a series of further heads overlapping one another. Of the heads in the front row, the lower part of the faces is lost, but on two of them an eye is preserved, looking in the direction of Christ. The one on the right wears a light purple tunic with circular folds over his stomach. Farther to the right is the upper half of another soldier who is beardless and has brown hair. He grasps a torch(?) in his raised left arm and wears a dark red tunic with black shadow lines and a yellow collar. Over his right shoulder the hand of another soldier, grasping a spear, is visible. Behind the group, against the blue background, are a series of pale gray poles representing either spears or torches. In the midst of them is what appears to be the flame of a torch. More torches and spears may be seen, also indistinctly, to the left of Christ.

The left side of the composition is almost entirely lost. A faint curved form to the left of the spears may be either the upper rims of two haloes or the curving outline of a mountain. The rest is a confused mass of red underpainting, possibly belonging to the original composition, which was then covered with dark blue.

At the extreme right of the composition is the best preserved figure, that of a standing prophet (height 80 cm), holding an open scroll in his left hand, his right arm extended, palm out, as he gestures toward the event he had foretold (Fig. 105). The top part of the head and lower extremities are lost, but the remainder of the figure is in quite good condition.

Standing on a strip of green ground (height 20 cm), the prophet faces frontally, but turns his head toward the center of the composition. His long gray-green hair falls in two wavy strands over his shoulder, while his beard, divided into four strands, comes to a shaggy point below his neck. Over a gray tunic with full sleeves, highlighted in white, he wears a light brown chlamys, draped diagonally across the left shoulder so as to leave the right arm free, the end thrown over the left arm. The fold across the chest is a dark yellow-brown,

darker than the rest of the garment—a device we have already observed in other figures. The scroll is white, ruled with double yellow lines, but all the writing on it has been lost.

3. Middle Register

In this zone (height 1.35 m, width 4.10 m) are the fragments of two scenes, one on the far left, the other on the far right. There could have been a third composition in the middle, making all the panels roughly square, but it is more likely that there were only two of rectangular format.

a. *The Judgment of Pilate(?)* (Fig. 106)

The remaining fragment (1.33 m × 38 cm) contains a single figure, that of a soldier (height 94 cm) standing on an area of green ground (height 18 cm) in a pose turned slightly to the east, his feet apart. Only the red underpainting remains of his short tunic and wide collar. Better preserved is his dark red chlamys which is fastened on his right shoulder and falls behind his body down to his knees. He wears black hose and white boots reaching to mid-calf. In his right hand he appears to be holding a spear, of which only a diagonal line is barely visible.

b. *The Road to Calvary(?)* (Fig. 107)

All that remains is a fragment at the right of the panel (height 1.35 m, width 61 cm) containing the three-quarter figure of an angel who clasps his face with both hands in a gesture of grief. Although the fragment extends down to the lower border, all that is visible at the bottom is a zone of green ground (height 20 cm). The angel is dressed in a gray tunic with loose sleeves and a double black clavus over the left shoulder. His chlamys, which falls over his right arm, is in two tones of pink, shading to red-purple below the waist. Both wings are visible, the right one folded behind the halo, the left one extended to the right. They are burnt umber with white and yellow ochre highlights.

4. *The Crucifixion* (Figs. 108–9)

The entire wall surface east of the door was filled with a life-size Crucifixion (original height 2.91 m, preserved height 2.76 m, preserved width 1.06 m). Only about a third of the composition along the right side remains today. It includes part of the transverse arm of the cross with the left hand and forearm of Christ, two lamenting angels above, and the noble figure of St. John below. On the arm of the cross one can see the cartoon draw-

ing, which does not quite coincide with the final painted version.

St. John (height 1.74 m), inscribed Ιω(άννης) || $\delta\theta\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\lambda\gamma\delta\gamma\omicron\varsigma$, stands with head bowed on a zone of green ground (height 25 cm), his weight resting on his right foot, his left visible beneath the drapery, extended to one side. Only the right half of the figure and a section of the halo are preserved. The head is entirely lost.

The modeling of the tunic and chlamys is exceptional in its refinement and the wide range of values used for both the highlights and the shadows. The tunic is a light purple-brown, highlighted with a dilute white wash and thicker white lines and shadowed in two tones, red-brown and dark brown. The device of three dark dots appears in the fold below the left knee. The chlamys is pale green, similarly highlighted with both a white wash and white lines. As in other cases already mentioned, some folds are shaded in a contrasting color, namely, brown, with red-brown and black lines.

Above and to the right of the cross are the remnants of two three-quarter length lamenting angels, one with his hands held up, probably to clasp his face, the other with lowered arm. Little is preserved of the angel closer to Christ: only his raised right arm, a small area of thigh, and possibly the top of his wing. He wore a pink chlamys which passed over his right elbow and terminated in a fluttering tail. The angel on the right is headless, but a tiny fragment of the halo and most of the body, except the right arm, are preserved. Only the left wing survives, extended horizontally behind the figure. It is colored in two tones of red, a deep red for the top feathers and a lighter red for the lower feathers, both accented in white. The angel wears a pale green chlamys with white highlights which falls over the left arm, ending in a wind-blown flutter.

5. *The North Door* (Fig. 110)

The west jamb and most of the arch are original, whereas the east jamb, wooden lintel, and perforated semicircular window are modern. The opening of the arch has been incorrectly restored to a diameter of 1.35 m; originally, it must have been about 1.26 m.

The soffit of the arch (depth 86 cm) was decorated with three medallions containing the busts of the Three Hebrews. All three medallions had a red background and were framed by a yellow ochre border with an inner black and an outer

white line. Only the westernmost one is well preserved (diameter 48 cm); it contains the figure of Misael (Fig. 112), identified by the single letter M to the left of his neck. His youthful head has tufted brown hair falling behind his ears. He wears a yellow ochre tunic decorated below the neck with a triangular design of three white pearls. Over this is a deep red mantle with a jeweled border, consisting of clusters of pearls alternating with rectangular stones (whose color is lost). The mantle is fastened over the chest by means of a circular brooch set with pearls. At the top of the head is a small priestly miter, drawn in red. Misael blesses with his right hand and holds a scroll in his left.

Only a small fragment of the central medallion remains, with a tiny fragment of the halo—enough to indicate that, like other central medallions, it faced inward, that is, toward the longitudinal axis of the church. A slightly larger fragment of the eastern medallion survives, but the surface paint is completely lost. A bit of the halo and some hair on the right side (similar to Misael's) are all that remain.

A length of ornament survives on the face of the west jamb (Fig. 111). Only 10 cm wide (excluding the red border), it consists of alternating red and green leaves against a dark blue background. The red leaves have scalloped edges and are veined in white, while the green leaves are wedge-shaped and have yellow veins.

F. Western Piers

The western piers were decorated in three zones, namely, from top to bottom: (1) rectangular panels, each containing a full-length prophet striding toward the eastern end of the church and holding before him an open, inscribed scroll; (2) larger rectangular panels, each containing a nearly life-size standing monastic saint, holding a cross in his right hand and a folded scroll in his left, one on each face of the pier (those on the western faces are, however, described below as part of the recesses of the western bay); and (3) a painted marble dado.

1. *Southwest Pier*

a. *East Face*

i. *The Prophet Ezekiel* (Figs. 113–14, color pl. 3)

The panel (height 1.23 m, width 86 cm) lacks only its upper red border. The condition of the figure is excellent, with only slight pitting and some loss of color in the zone of green ground. The

prophet, inscribed $\delta\ |\ \pi\ |\rho\o\ |\phi\eta\tau(\eta\varsigma)\ |\ \text{I}\epsilon\ |\xi\epsilon\ |\chi\iota\ |\eta\lambda$, has graying, light brown hair, which is parted in the center and falls over the shoulders, with two wisps projecting over the forehead. His pointed beard is divided into five strands, with a defined form over the chin and a curl over the left cheek. Both the beard and the bushy eyebrows are highlighted in white. Moving to his right (south) with a vigorous stride, he turns his head back toward the nave. The movement is accentuated by the tail of his chlamys, which falls over his left shoulder and flutters behind him. The tunic is gray, with a double red clavus over the right shoulder and a single clavus over each leg. The chlamys is yellow-brown, the hemline and fold across the chest being somewhat darker, while the area of the left thigh is thrown into relief with a dilute white wash. Over the right knee are five white dots. The curving scroll, held in both hands and extended across the body, is inscribed with the following text (Ezek. 37:12–13 with one slight inversion) which refers to the Anastasis on the south wall: + Τάδε λέγει κ(ύριος)· ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀνοίγω τὰ μνη|ματα ὑμ(ών)| καὶ ἀνάξω ὑμᾶς| ἐκ τῶν| μνημᾶ|των ὑμῶν., that is, “Thus saith the Lord: Behold, I will open your graves and bring you up, out of your graves.”

ii. *Monk (St. John Chrysostom?)* (Figs. 115–16)

The panel (2.00 × 0.86 m) is in poor condition, with most of the surface paint lost. Of the inscription there remain only the siglum for $\delta\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma$ and, below it, a long circumflex squiggle, such as was used for abbreviations. The saint's epithet would have been on the right side.

The head, preserved mostly in red underdrawing, has a high domed forehead with sparse hair on either side, sunken cheeks, straight mouth with drooping corners, and a short beard, features that are characteristic of St. John Chrysostom. Hood and scapular blue-black, the latter decorated with two rows of double white lines at the level of the thigh and along the lower hem. Tunic yellow-brown; mantle warm brown. A brown cord hangs from the neck, is knotted at the waist, and is pulled to the back above the knees.

iii. *Dado*

A panel of pale green striped and figured marble, in the center of which is inlaid a blue-gray disk in a serrated frame of gray triangles on white.

b. *North Face*

i. *The Prophet Isaiah* (Figs. 117–18)

The panel (preserved dimensions 1.22 × 0.90 m) is missing a triangular area from the upper

right corner and a smaller area from the upper left. Surface paint considerably eroded; cartoon drawing shows through on the face and neck as well as in parts of the chlamys. Both hands survive only in underpainting (red lines and yellow ochre wash). The green ground on which the prophet stood is entirely lost.

The prophet had gray hair and beard, but the latter is so damaged that its shape is unclear. Gray tunic with a double red clavus barely visible over left shoulder; light green chlamys with white highlights. Seen in a three-quarter pose, he strides forward, with his weight resting on his right leg, right arm extended, hand blessing. In left hand he holds the top of the scroll which falls diagonally in front of him. It was originally drawn narrower on both sides (by 1.5 cm on the left), then widened to accommodate the text. Both the red cartoon drawing and yellow ochre wash are visible beneath the paint. The text, taken from Isa. 26:19, also refers to the Anastasis: *Ἀναστήσονται οἱ νεκρο[ι] καὶ ἐγερθ[ή]σονται οἱ <ἐν> το[ῖς] | μνημείοις | καὶ εὐφραν[θή]σονται οἱ ἐν τῇ γῇ (scroll), that is, “The dead will arise and stand up in their graves, and those that are upon the earth will be gladdened.”

To the right of the prophet's head, where the fresco is lost, is a horizontal red line, 3 cm broad, on the mortar joint. On the next joint, at shoulder level, is another broad line, slanting down to the right.

ii. *Monk* (Figs. 120–21)

The panel (height 2.01 m, width at the bottom 0.81, at the top ca. 0.92) is much eroded, except for the lower part of the robes, and the inscription is lost. The saint's features, reminiscent of those of St. Gregory Nazianzen, are preserved in red underpainting: a high, domed forehead, with receding curly hair at the temples and a single curl at the top, arched eyebrows, straight, square beard. Hood and scapular blue-black, the latter decorated with double white lines at the waist and on the hem. Tunic yellow-brown, the cuffs edged with a double black line; mantle red-brown; brown cord knotted in the usual manner. On the background, to the right of the figure, just below the waist, is a three-line grafitto in cursive script (Fig. 119), of which we could decipher the following words: Γα-βριηλ ἱερομ(ο)να|χος καὶ προσμ(ο)ν(α)ρειος⁵⁰ τ[ῆς?]

⁵⁰The term *προσμονάριος* or *παραιμονάριος* denoted a resident custodian. Such a function would have been unnecessary in a monastery that had an abbot and a number of monks living in. It may be surmised, therefore, that Gabriel was *prosmonarios*

ιερ(ας) (μ)ον(ης) ευχεσ(θε) . . . ου. . . and below, EU.

iii. *Dado*

Rectangular panel of pink striped and figured marble, mitered at the corners, inlaid with a yellow disk in a light green circular frame with dark green triangular serrations.

2. *Northwest Pier*

a. *East Face*

i. *The Prophet Moses* (Figs. 122–24, color pl. 2)

Except for loss at the top, the panel is in good condition (preserved height 1.27 m, width 0.78, height of green ground 0.30). Inscription: [‘Ο πρ]οφ[η]τ(ης)||[Μ]ω[σ]ή[ς]. Beardless, as usual, Moses has long, wavy brown hair, accented in yellow, drawn back behind his ears and falling over his shoulders. A tuft falls over the middle of the forehead. In pose, Moses forms the mirror image of Ezekiel. Standing with his knees bent, he moves to the right (north) with his weight on his left leg. Both legs are unduly foreshortened from the knees down. The head, bent forward, is turned back and the gaze is directed sharply to the south. Moses wears a pale gray tunic with a double red clavus over the chest, which reappears over the right ankle. Light purple-brown chlamys, highlighted with white wash and creased with brown and black shadow lines. Six white dots on right thigh and six brown dots below right knee. Draped in an elaborate manner round the waist and over both shoulders, the chlamys falls over the right arm, forming a fluttering tail. Red cartoon drawing is visible at the lower hem of the tunic and at the right ankle, where the paint has flaked off. The inscription on the scroll, adapted from Deut. 28:66, refers to the Crucifixion on the north wall: *’Οψεσθε| τήν ζωήν| ὑμῶν κρε|μαμένην | ἐπὶ ξύλου| ἀπέναντι| τῶν ὀφθαλ|μῶν ὑμ(ῶν)| καὶ οὐ μὴ | πιστεύσητε: (scroll), that is, “You will see your Life hanging on a piece of wood before your eyes, and you will not believe.”

ii. *St. Athanasios* (Figs. 125–26)

Panel preserved in full (1.91 × 0.78 m), but surface paint somewhat eroded from the shoulders down. Inscription on right side: ’Α|θα|νά|σ(ιος). Blue-gray hair combed close to the head with a whorl at the center. Square, straight beard, spreading slightly outward at the base, with

a clearly defined form over the chin, cleft down the middle. Hair and upper parts of the beard outlined in black. Eyebrows black, with tufts of white hairs against the bridge of the nose. Upper eyelids drawn in red, iris and pupils black, whites of the eyes shaded in green. Nose and ears drawn in red, with the nostrils and inner lobes shadowed with black. Flesh tones yellow ochre, lightened with white, shaded with green and made warmer in the lips and cheeks with a touch of red. Hood and scapular black; brown cord tied at the waist; mantle dark red-brown; tunic lighter red-brown. To the left of the figure is an illegible graffito in Greek.

iii. *Dado*

Panel of pink, striped and figured marble, enclosing a red “porphyry” disk in a black and yellow serrated frame.

b. *South Face*

i. *Prophet* (Fig. 127)

The panel (preserved height 1.12 m, full width 0.93) is destroyed except for the top right and bottom left corners. The zone of green ground has flaked off down to the plaster. The prophet was striding forward, right hand raised, hand blessing (the fingers are preserved). Left leg survives from the calf down; no trace of sandal on the foot. Gray tunic with red clavus over the shin; olive-brown chlamys.

ii. *Monk* (Figs. 128–29)

The panel (1.88 × 0.79 m) is in poor condition; upper left corner and lower part of figure, from the waist to below the knees, are destroyed. The head is in fair condition, with red-brown hair and a full beard coming to a point. Gaze directed to the east. Hands and vestments badly eroded. The tunic appears to have been red-brown. The color of the other garments is indeterminate.

iii. *Dado*

Pale green, striped and figured marble with a disk (mostly lost) in a black and white serrated frame.

G. *West Bay*

1. *Vault* (Figs. 130, 136)

What little survives of the paintings is mostly along the western edge of the vault, that is, in the area that was underpinned by the later arch. Piti-ful as the remains are, they are sufficient to establish that the vault was decorated with a total of

not of St. Chrysostomos, but of another monastery that did not have a regular resident community.

eight narrative compositions, four on each side, placed in two registers. Out of the eight, five have left some traces.

a. South Side

i. Upper Register: The Nativity of Christ (Fig. 131)

Preserved height 1.30 m, width 0.64. Condition very poor throughout. Mary reclined with her feet facing east, turning at the waist so that her head was in three-quarter view. Her right hand, which is preserved, is laid on the Christ child's shoulder. She is dressed in a dark blue tunic and a red-brown *maphorion*. The mattress on which she is lying is light green, with two horizontal black stripes at the level of the head and one at the level of the hand. Originally the outline of the mattress was drawn slightly to the right, then overpainted in blue.

The Christ child, wrapped in swaddling clothes, is visible from the waist up, his nimbed head pointing east and his feet west. He was laid in a manger, the front side of which was built of square stones, brown, outlined in white. The thickness of the manger's wall is white and the inside black.

Below the mattress, the ground is painted yellow ochre, with curling bits of grass at the lower edge. An undulating line runs horizontally across the base of the composition, the area below it now showing blue, although originally it may have been overpainted in green. To the right are faint traces of the back of a figure, presumably the midwife, dressed in a red garment.

The background to the right of the Virgin's head representing the cave is blue. It is delimited at the top by a curving area of brown paint denoting the mountain. Two vertical white lines pertain to the rays of light that came down on the child's head.

ii. Lower Register: The Nativity of the Virgin (Fig. 132)

Preserved height 1.23 m (original height 1.69); preserved width 0.90. A vertical setting-out line, painted in red on the masonry, is visible 1.89 m from the east edge of the vault. This provides the original width of the composition and proves that there were only two scenes in the register. Condition of the composition very poor, except for the edge of the bed.

Anna, dressed in blue-gray tunic and dark red mantle, reclines on a bed, her right hand held up, fingers extended. She faces toward the west. The frame of the bed curves up to form its back and is

painted yellow ochre. It is decorated with clusters of pearls set in an X pattern, alternating with stones, placed alternately in oval and diamond-shaped frames. The stones in the oval frames are red; those in the diamond-shaped frames have not been painted in. On the bed is laid a pale green mattress, with black stripes next to Anna's elbow and head. Below the frame are traces of a valence of dark purple with a diaper pattern in yellow ochre lines. Behind the bed and to the right of the figure of Anna is a strip of red underpainting. Above that, some blue background remains, but no forms are visible.

iii. The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple (Fig. 133)

Only the lower right corner is preserved (maximum height 0.24 m, width 0.74). What little remains is in good condition.

Going from right to left, we can discern the following elements. In the corner are two vertical jambs of purple-pink veined marble with a black opening between them. Next comes a coffered door, painted yellow ochre, with diagonal lines forming an over-all diaper pattern. The intersection of the diagonals is marked with white dots. Partly overlapping the door was the figure of Zacharias, striding on tiptoe to the left. Only his feet and the lower hem of his garment are preserved. The feet are shod in red buskins, decorated with double rows of pearls. The garment is dark gray and has a yellow ochre hem decorated with diamond-shaped stones alternating with pearls set in an X pattern. Between the feet is a green panel having four horizontal white lines at the base and, above them, a small circular disk surrounded by dots. Finally, in the left corner one can discern the bottom end of a piece of furniture (altar?), painted yellow ochre, with a V-shaped line in red and a white pearl at the sharp end of the V.

b. North Side

i. Upper Register: The Entry into Jerusalem

All that remains of this register is a badly eroded fragment near the east edge of the vault, 1.40 m high, 0.58 wide. In the lower portion of the fragment one can barely distinguish the figure of a child, dressed in gray, spreading out a red garment which he holds by the sleeves. The child appears to be crouching or bending and looking up. Behind him are traces of another figure dressed in pink. Some red underpainting remains in the upper portions of the fragment.

ii. *Lower Register: The Dormition of the Virgin* (Figs. 137–39, color pl. 6b)

Less than half of the composition is preserved, reaching up to the top border. Height 1.62 m, width 0.94 (original width ca. 1.90–1.95). Condition uneven.

The figure of the recumbent Virgin is preserved from the knees down, her red slippers showing beneath her blue garments. She lies on a bed, the top of which is red. The remaining leg post, painted yellow ochre and outlined in red, is built up of bulging baluster forms upon which is a design of alternately erect and inverted cusps. In front of the bed hangs a dark purple valence, with a barely visible diamond pattern in white.

The outline of Christ's garments, which have lost their color, is visible on his left side. In his veiled left hand he held the soul of the Virgin, a small figure rendered in grisaille, arms folded over the chest, wrapped in a clinging shroud, revealing the contours of a remarkably developed body. The face of the "soul" was exposed and may have been in flesh color, judging by the yellow wash underpainting that is visible. Above the soul and a little to the right is an indeterminate shape, possibly belonging to an angel.

At the Virgin's feet is the thick-set figure of St. Paul, bent forward in a hunched posture. He has, as usual, a brown beard and sparse brown hair. His tunic is gray, with a double red clavus over the left shoulder. The brownish pink chlamys is wound round the waist, while with his right hand he raises a fold of it to his face to wipe his eyes.

Behind Paul stands St. Andrew, distinguished by his shaggy gray-green hair and beard, both arms extended toward the Virgin. He wears a light green tunic and a deep yellow-brown chlamys with deeper brown shadows and ochre highlights. Next to him is another apostle (Simon?), facing away, but looking toward the Virgin, clasping his cheek with his left hand. He is nearly bald, with a single lock of hair over his forehead and a short brown beard. Tunic dark blue; chlamys light green. The next apostle in the same row, dressed in a yellow-brown chlamys, has lost his head and shoulders. He may have been supporting his head on his left hand.

In the back row stand a bishop and two apostles. The bishop, his face largely eroded, has a gray-green pointed beard. He wears an olive-brown *phelonion* and a white *omophorion* with two black crosses. In his left hand (hidden behind Simon) he

holds a yellow ochre book with red pages, decorated with pearls on its cover. The apostle next to him has a brown beard and contracted eyebrows, but most of his face is lost. He is dressed in an olive-brown chlamys and raises both hands, which are covered, to his face. The second apostle, also bearded, stands in the same attitude. His chlamys is pink.

c. *West Wall* (Fig. 40)

Insignificant as they are, the remnants of painting on the west wall enable us at least to determine the layout of the decoration which, in its horizontal articulation, did not correspond to that of the vault. The decoration was in three registers, namely, the lunette, which formed a separate entity, a middle register consisting, perhaps, of two scenes, one on each side of the door, and a bottom register containing standing figures. It should be noted that, because of the eccentric position of the west door, the wall space to the south of it is considerably wider than to the north.

All that remains of the bottom register is the lower extremity of a figure standing on green ground (Fig. 134). Although the lower red border continues that in the adjoining recess, the figure in question is placed higher than its neighbor, the monk on the left, being about 20 cm above the border. We have also a tiny fragment of the upper red border at a height of 3.11 m above the modern floor, which enables us to calculate that the lowest register was 2.50 m high. All that remains of the figure are the two feet, both shod in sandals, the left one placed in profile, the hem of a gray tunic with two pairs of red clavi, and a tiny corner of the chlamys (on the left side) which was either red or purple-brown. There is space for a second figure to the south of the door, whereas the wall surface to the north of the door could have accommodated only one figure.

The middle register started above the said fragment of red border, that is, allowing for the width of the border, at a height of 3.15 m above the floor and extended at least to 4.83 m and possibly higher. A tiny fragment of painting to the north of the door (16 × 11 cm), situated at a height of 5.05 m, is relevant in this connection. It is painted light brown, with a curving red-brown line and, outside it, an area of blue. Whatever this may have represented, it was not part of a ground zone and so probably belonged to the second register rather than to the lunette composition. If so, the middle

register had a minimum height of 2.01 m, allowing a maximum of 1.45 m (in fact, probably somewhat less) for the height of the lunette at its center.

Of the middle register on the south side of the door, three small fragments are preserved. More or less on center and extending from a height of 4.58 m to 4.83, is a diagonal patch of blue background. Below this and to the left is a fragment (height 15 cm, width 24 cm) of the left shoulder of a bearded nimbed figure whose head seems to have been inclined forward. The garments were a blue tunic and a yellow ochre chlamys. At a slightly lower level and to the right is a further fragment (height 22 cm, width 31 cm) consisting of light purplish brown drapery, perhaps at the height of the chest. All we need conclude for the moment is that we are dealing with a narrative scene. Whatever composition was placed at the same level north of the door, it must have been very narrow.

Finally, on the south jamb of the west door is a fragment of painting (height 87 cm, width 37.5 cm) representing a dark brown cross with two transverse arms on a white background (Fig. 135). Above it is a thin black band, then a wide red border (7 cm wide), then a band of green.

d. Southwest Recess (Fig. 140)

i. Face of Arch

The narrow, horizontal strip of painting containing the remains of the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, a strip that extends 2.20 m from the west wall, indicates that the space above the arch was decorated with three medallions, each containing the bust of a saint, one over the crown of the arch and one in each spandrel. Only the top segments of the central and western medallions remain (Fig. 133). Their original diameter was ca. 47 cm. The western medallion had a red background, while that of the central medallion was probably green.

ii. Soffit of Arch (Fig. 141)

There are five medallions in the soffit (diameter ca. 62 cm), each containing the bust of a military saint. The frames of the medallions are yellow, with a thin black line on the inside and a white line along the outer circumference; their background is alternately red and green, beginning with green on each side. All the saints are dressed in court costume, namely, a tunic with yellow ochre cuffs and wide collar and a chlamys fastened over the right shoulder by a fibula. The chlamys is decorated with a yellow *tablion*, whose top border forms

a continuous line with the lower border of the collar. The haloes, collars, cuffs, and *tablia* were originally all gilded, traces of gilding remaining on several of the medallions, especially that of St. Demetrios. All five saints hold a white cross in their right hand, while the left is held up with the palm out.

Medallion 1 (from the east): The figure is destroyed from the shoulders down and elsewhere considerably eroded (Fig. 142). Of the inscription there remain only the termination [‘Ο ἄγν]ος on the left and the letters CI on the right, the latter pertaining to the middle of the name. Medium length, wavy brown hair parted in the center, rather full on the sides and almost covering the ears; short brown beard divided into two lobes. Eyes directed toward the nave. Chlamys probably reddish brown and tunic white. The halo was originally drawn slightly larger, then reduced in size.

Medallion 2, St. Demetrios (Fig. 143, color pl. 8a): The inscription is complete: ‘Ο| ἄγν|ος|| Δη|μή|τρο|ος. The saint is beardless and has short brown hair combed down over the forehead. Red tunic; pale green chlamys with white highlights, fastened with a round fibula. The decoration of collar and *tablion*, with pearls and stones in circular and diamond-shaped settings, is particularly well preserved.

Medallion 3, St. George (Fig. 144, color pl. 8b): The inscription is complete: ‘Ο| ἄγν|ος|| Γε|ώ|ρ|γν|ος. The saint is beardless, with short brown hair arranged in three tiers of curls and nearly covering the ears. The pupils of the eyes are directed toward the east. Gray tunic with white highlights and black shadows; red chlamys fastened with pin-type fibula. Border of collar and *tablion* decorated with pearls. Traces of gilding on halo, collar, and *tablion*.

Medallion 4, St. Prokopios (Fig. 145, color pl. 8c): The best preserved of all and virtually in perfect condition. Inscription: ‘Ο| ἄγν|ος|| Π|ρ|ο|κ|ό|πι|ος. The saint is beardless, with medium length, wavy dark brown hair, forming a fringe over his forehead and falling down on either side of the face. Tunic gray as is also the right cuff; chlamys red-brown, fastened by a circular fibula decorated with a red stone surrounded by six pearls. The saint looks toward the south wall.

Medallion 5, St. Eusignios (Fig. 146, color pl. 8d): Inscription: ‘Ο| [ἄ]γν|ος|| Εὐ|σ|ί|γν|ος. Medium length gray-green hair, parted in the middle, with a tuft, drawn in red and black lines, hanging over

the forehead. Moustache and beard of the same color, divided into strands and coming to a point at the base of the neck. Pale green tunic, dark blue chlamys. The saint's eyes look toward the nave.

iii. *East Reveal* (Figs. 147–48)

Monk in panel measuring 1.98 m × 0.86. Inscription lost. Condition of paint fairly good up to saint's elbow; considerable damage to mantle and small losses on the head. Gray-green hair cut close to the head, with a single wisp over domed forehead. Short beard and moustache of the same color. Hood and scapular blue-black, the latter decorated with double white lines. Mantle dark purple-brown; tunic light brown. The cord hangs from the neck, is knotted at the waist and sweeps back at the knees. Vertically arranged dots on right leg, white ones above the knee and dark ones below. The saint blesses with his right hand, palm in, and holds a scroll in his left.

The dado, of which the lower third is destroyed, has a green porphyry disk in a red and yellow serrated frame, set in a panel of green and white striped and figured marble which is mitred at the corners. In the top left corner the following names were jotted down in red paint before the dado was painted: Μελετιος | Επιφ(α)νιος | Ανδρονικος | Λουκας (Fig. 149). These refer to the saints on the back wall and help to identify them.

iv. *Back Wall*

The lunette (height at the center 0.84 m, width 2.47) contains three half-length figures, somewhat smaller in scale than the standing saints below (Fig. 150, color pl. 4). The whole area is comparatively well preserved, except for a loss of plaster from the right side of the head and halo of the central figure.

In the middle, *St. Onouphrios* (Fig. 151), inscribed ὁ ἄγιος || [῾Ο]νουφριος, slightly larger than his two companions. Shown from the hips up, arms held in orant position, he is nude, with chest and rib cage strongly delineated and the entire body covered with small tufts of red hair. Hair yellowish white, outlined in red, falling in wavy strands on both shoulders; beard, divided into four strands, reaches down to mid-chest. In the first stage of the final painting the arms were delineated farther apart and the hands a little higher.

To the left of Onouphrios is *St. Paul the Simpleton* (Fig. 152), inscribed Ⓐ Π|αυ|λος || ὁ ἄπλ|ου|ς. Hair white and yellow, combed forward over forehead; beard and moustache of the same color, separated into six strands and terminating in a

ragged point. Eyes look toward Onouphrios. Red-brown mantle, fastened behind the point of the beard, toward which black shadow lines converge. The folded hood and scapular are black, the latter decorated with double white lines and a crosslet of four white dots. Only the cuffs of the tunic are visible and are yellow, shadowed with red and having two black lines at the wrists. Right hand holds white cross, left raised, palm outward.

To the right is *St. Theodosios of Skopelos* (Fig. 153), inscribed Ⓐ|Θε|ο|δό|σι|ος || ο| ἐν| τῷ |Σκο|[πέλω].

His beard and moustache are similar to St. Paul's, but are gray-green, while his hair is parted in the middle and combed over the forehead in a double-lobed form. He looks to his right, toward Onouphrios. Mantle olive green with bright green highlights. The hood and scapular appear to have been black and the latter to have been decorated with white lines, of which only faint traces remain.

The main register is treated as a single panel (height 1.99 m, width at the base 2.71) on which four standing monastic saints are represented (Figs. 154–55). There has been severe damage to the surface, extending from the lower left-hand corner diagonally across to the right-hand corner of the lunette. In parts of the left side the plaster was entirely destroyed, exposing the rectangular stones of the earlier church wall. The saints, from left to right, are:

(*St. Meletios*): Inscription lost. Condition generally poor, except for parts of the head, hands and scroll. Gray-green hair forming a rounded lobe over forehead, beard divided into strands, coming to a point at the base of the neck (Fig. 156). The tunic appears to have been red-brown and the mantle olive-brown.

(*St. Epiphanyios*): Of the inscription, only the abbreviation Ⓐ' remains on the left. The condition

of the face is fairly good (Fig. 157), and the surface paint is partly preserved down to the waist, below which it is mostly lost. The lower part of the legs and the feet are entirely destroyed. Gray-green hair and beard similar to those of St. Meletios, but a little more wavy. Hood and scapular appear to have been blue-black, the latter decorated with double white lines. The mantle is purple brown and the tunic yellow-brown. Right hand holds cross, left raised, palm outward.

(*St. Andronikos*): Of the inscription, only the word [ἄ]|γιος, written out in full, remains on the

left side. Condition similar to that of St. Epiphanius. Brown hair with a rounded form over the forehead and pointed beard (Fig. 158). Hood and scapular, the latter decorated with double white lines, appear to have been blue-black; mantle dark green-brown; tunic orange. The hands are in the same position as those of St. Epiphanius, but no trace of the cross remains.

St. Luke of Stiris: Inscription preserved on right side only: ὁ ἐν τῷ Στεῖγῳ (Fig. 159). The surface paint is mostly eroded from the hands up, but is in fairly good condition from the waist down. Little remains of the face which had a brown beard of indeterminate shape. Exceptionally, the hood covered the head, instead of being folded at the back. The scapular, black like the hood, is decorated with double white lines. The saint wears a dark red-brown mantle over a light purple-brown tunic; the brown cord hanging from the neck is the only one to be seen in this panel. He blesses and holds a scroll.

The color of the dado is black and green in imitation of green porphyry. Although the entire central portion is lost, it is likely that it formed a single panel extending the full width of the recess (2.90m).

v. *West Reveal* (Figs. 160–61)

Monk in panel measuring 2.01×0.94 m. Of the inscription, the word ἀγιος remains on the left, while on the right, level with the bottom of the halo, is an H pertaining to the termination of the name. The surface is fairly eroded, especially the lower part of the figure, and the top of the head has been destroyed. Nevertheless, the face is well preserved. Hair and pointed beard warm brown. Black hood and scapular, the latter decorated with double white lines. Mantle olive-brown; tunic warm brown. Brown cord hanging from the neck barely visible. The saint holds a cross in his right hand, while the left is raised, palm outward.

The dado is dark red simulating a slab of porphyry and extends as a single panel as far as it is preserved. It probably continued to the west door.

e. *Northwest Recess* (Fig. 162, color pl. 5)

The northwest recess differs from the southwest in that a rectangular window is cut into its back wall. The painted area is thereby reduced, so that only one life-size figure could be placed on either side of the window. Two figures of smaller scale were, however, painted in the reveals of the window, bringing the total number of standing figures again to six. In arrangement and subject-matter

the decoration on the north side is similar to that which has been described on the south.

The window in the north wall is slightly to the left (west) of the center of the recess. It measures 1.59×0.89 m and its sill is 0.98 m above the modern floor, that is, ca. 1.13 above the original floor. The top of the sill, which buckles upward in the middle, was plastered and painted with a rectangular dark gray panel simulating a slab of marble, which was framed in the usual way by a red and white border. The glazed gypsum window frame, like all the others in the church, is a modern restoration. Fragments of the original (or of older) frames are, however, preserved.

Below the window is a rectangular recess (62 cm high by 95 wide), not exactly aligned with the window opening, but slightly to the right (Fig. 171). The sill of the window is of masonry, 22 cm thick, and is supported by boards which form the top of the recess and which are all, except the front one, original to the construction. The base was filled to a height of 30 cm above the original floor level. The recess is plastered and painted on the back and sides with a design based on an X of thick, wavy black lines on the unpainted surface. The triangular spaces formed by the X are outlined with double red lines and contain a black trefoil motif on a yellow ground. The trefoils on the back panel have red tendrils, whereas those on the sides do not. There is no evidence that there was ever any closure or grille across the front of the recess, whose purpose remains unclear.

i. *Soffit of Arch* (Fig. 163)

As in the southwest recess, the soffit is decorated with five medallions (diameter 63–65 cm) containing busts of military saints; unfortunately, they are less well preserved. All the saints wear a similar costume: a white tunic shaded with gray, provided with a broad, yellow ochre collar edged with pearls, and a dark chlamys with a yellow ochre *tablion*. All clasp a cross in their right hand and raise the left, palm outward. The backgrounds are alternately red and green, beginning with red on both sides.

Medallion 1 (from the east): *St. James the Persian* (Fig. 164): Inscription on left: Ⓐ | Ιακωβος, destroyed on right. Medium length, tufted brown hair partly covering the ears; sharply pointed beard ending in three narrow wisps. Chlamys red-brown.

Medallion 2 (Fig. 165): The saint was probably Theodore Tiro, but no inscription remains. Short

brown hair, cut close to the top of the head, leaving the ears exposed; pointed brown beard reaching to the base of the neck. Eyes look north. Red chlamys with traces of a circular fibula on left shoulder.

Medallion 3 (Fig. 166) (*St. Arsenios or St. Niketas*): Inscription α|γ|υ|ο|ς on left; faint traces of an N on right. The identification is based on the face which is similar to Christ's,⁵¹ with shoulder-length brown hair, short beard, and moustache. The chlamys is now black, but was probably intended to be either dark blue or dark green.

Medallion 4 (Fig. 167) (*St. Theodore Stratelates?*): Of the inscription, only the letters ο|δ remain on the left. The head, which is preserved partly in cartoon, has curly brown hair nearly covering the ears and a pointed beard reaching the neckline. Color of chlamys as in No. 3.

Medallion 5 (Fig. 168): Inscription on left only: . . . ο|υ . . . Beardless, with medium length, brown hair, hanging full on the sides of the face and nearly covering the ears. Eyes probably looked south. Chlamys chocolate brown.

ii. *East Reveal* (Fig. 169): *St. Clement(?)*

Monk in panel measuring 1.85 × 0.79 m. Head lost from mouth up, rest of figure in good condition. Of the saint's name, only the termination . . . μ|η|ς survives on the left. Gray-green beard in five strands tapering to a point just below the collarbone. Black hood (decorated with white lines) and scapular. Dark red-brown mantle with a double white line along the hem. Tunic light, warm brown with three brown dots just below the right knee. Cord tied round the waist, falling to the knees. The halo was first painted yellow ochre, then overlaid with gesso to which gilding was applied.

The dado is of gray and white banded marble with red figuring, mitred at the corners, inlaid with a red disk surrounded by a frame of light purple and black serrations.

iii. *Back Wall*

Lunette (Fig. 170)

In the lunette (height in the center 0.95 m, width 2.45), there is a considerable area of loss extending over the entire lower part of the panel; otherwise, the condition is quite good. Three half-length figures are represented, that of St. Xenophon in the middle, flanked by his sons Arkadios and John. Xenophon is shown bigger than his sons, and the same applies to his halo, which is 38 cm in diameter as against 33 cm for his sons.

St. Xenophon (Fig. 172): Inscription: ο| α|γ|υ|ο|ς || Ξε|νο|φ|ω|ν. Gray-green hair parted in the middle; long beard in six strands descending to a point over the chest. Hood and scapular black, the latter decorated with double white lines. Mantle greenish brown. Right hand lost; left hand raised in the usual position, palm out.

On Xenophon's right is *St. Arkadios* (Fig. 173), inscribed: [δ]|α|γ|υ|ο|ς|| Αρ|κα|δ|ι|ου|ς|. Surface paint on face partly eroded. Short brown hair combed forward; incipient beard and moustache. Chocolate-brown mantle fastened by a white clasp below the base of the neck, exposing a tunic of dark color.

St. John (Fig. 174), inscribed ο| α|γ|υ|ο|ς|| Ιω|αν|ν|η|ς|, is nearly identical to his brother in both facial appearance and dress, except that his short beard is slightly indented in the center. His face is better preserved. Both sons look toward their father.

Main Register (from left to right):

St. Gregory of Agrigento (Figs. 175–76), inscribed

Ⓐ Γρ|η|γό|ρι|ο|ς || ο| Α|γκρ|α|γαν|τι|νο|ς, in a panel

1.83 m high and 0.76 wide. There is an area of loss across the bottom of the figure (lower part of legs and feet); otherwise the condition is very good. Hair dark brown with a short fringe combed over the forehead; moustache and beard grow together into a pointed spade shape. Eyes directed to east. Dark blue hood and scapular decorated with double white lines; chocolate-brown mantle finished at the hem with double white lines; red-brown tunic; cord tied at the waist. The cross held in the right hand is exceptional in that it has a second transverse arm and no balls at the ends of the arms. Left hand raised, palm outward.

West window reveal: *St. Gregory*,⁵² *archbishop of the Homerites* (Figs. 177–78, color pl. 7a), in panel 1.42 m high and 0.73 wide. Inscription:

Ⓐ Γρ|η|γό|ρι|ο|ς| ο| α|ρχ|ι|ε|π|ι|σκο|π|ος|| [[τ|ω|ν|

ῶ|ν|τ|ω|ν|. Strip of loss halfway up the panel, cutting into the figure (as also in the east reveal), probably caused by the insertion of a shelf in the front half of the window recess. Hair, eyebrows, moustache, and beard yellow-gray with strong white lines indicating the direction of growth. Hair arranged low over forehead and temples and parted in the center, while at the crown of the head it is combed in a radiating pattern (indicating over-

⁵¹ Cf. P. A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, I (New York 1966), 257.

⁵² *Recte* Gregentius.

grown tonsure?). Short beard, with rounded cleft at the center, forms curls on the sides of the face and has a separate tuft over the chin. Hood and scapular black with no trace of decoration. Greenish-brown mantle pinned over the chest with a white clasp; warm, light brown tunic; knotted cord tied round the waist. In right hand holds cross which has a serif and a ball at all four ends; left hand raised, palm outward.

East window reveal: *St. Gregory of Cape Akritas* (Figs. 179–80, color pl. 7b), in a panel measuring 1.40×0.75 m. Inscription: Ⓐ | Γρη|γό|ρι|ος || ὁ| ἐν| τω| Ἀ|λ|ε|ξ|α|ν|δ|ρ|ι|τ|α|. In addition to the horizontal strip of loss, already mentioned, three small areas, mainly of background, are also destroyed. Tufted, yellow-gray hair; beard and moustache come to a point, leaving a cleft in the middle. Black hood and scapular decorated with crosslets of white dots between double lines; mantle dark red-brown; tunic a lighter shade of the same color; brown cord tied round the waist and knotted. Right hand holds a cross; left raised, palm outward.

Wall east of window: *St. Gregory Thaumaturgos* (Figs. 181–82), in a panel 1.88×0.80 m. Inscription: Γρη|γό|ρι|ος || ο| θαν|μα|του|ρος. Area of loss at the bottom, including feet. White hair, moustache, and beard are all sparse. High, domed forehead completely exposed, except for a tuft of hair at the top of the head. The chin is also bare. Blue-black hood and scapular, the latter decorated at the waist with a cross between double white lines. Greenish brown mantle, fastened at the neck with a white clasp; yellow-brown tunic; cord tied round the waist, falling to the knees. On the vertical, center fold of the tunic, just below the knees, are three brown dots. Looking to the west, the saint blesses with his right hand, palm inward, and holds a scroll in his left. The halo was drawn a second time slightly higher than the first and traces of gilding are visible on it.

The dado on the north wall is very fragmentary. To the left of the recess only the upper left corner survives, being plain red porphyry. To the right of the recess are small fragments of a slab of purple and white streaked marble with red figuring, set diagonally and inlaid with a disk, of which only a segment of the green and white serrated frame remains. It may be noted that with this exception and that of the two eastern reveals, the dado of the entire west bay of the church consists of plain green or red panels without any elaboration, possibly a sign of haste.

iv. *West Reveal* (Fig. 183)

Unidentified saint in a panel 1.83×0.85 m. Of the inscription only the letters Ⓐ | . . . | ος survive on the left, indicating that there was an epithet on the right. Upper part of head and halo lost. Gray-green moustache and beard terminating in a blunt point, the strands outlined in red. Blue-black hood and scapular, decorated with fine white lines; mantle greenish brown with a double white line at the hem; tunic yellow-brown; cord hangs from the neck and is wrapped round the waist. Holds cross in right hand, raises left, palm outward.

The dado, which appears to have been undecorated green porphyry, is very fragmentary. It probably extended as a single panel as far as the west door.

H. Narthex

Very small fragments of painting survive on the north wall (Fig. 184). The only recognizable element is a seated monk (Fig. 185) to the right of the east window. The fragment, 1.35 m high and 0.38 wide, extends further down, behind the added corner reinforcement. Condition very poor, mostly eroded to underpainting, with many straw marks. Turning to the west and apparently without halo, the monk had a short gray-green, pointed beard. His head was covered with a dark blue hood, beneath which a small patch of hair is visible over the forehead. Red mantle (possibly underpainting); dark blue tunic. The left arm extended from beneath the mantle in a slightly raised position. The monk was seated on a yellow ochre stool, seen diagonally, with cross-slats at the bottom. Intentional damage to eyes.

The lunette above the windows afforded room for a large composition, but nothing survives, except a bit of the horizontal red border on the right side.

IV. TECHNICAL OBSERVATIONS

by E. J. W. Hawkins

As already pointed out, the painter began by making a rough layout of the decoration on the bare masonry, using red ochre paint. Where the masonry was too uneven, it was smoothed out with wipes of plaster. The clearest evidence for the layout is provided by the dome. In the west vault we have found that the boundaries of individual scenes were marked in the same manner.

The interior was then plastered in sections with

a single layer of lime plaster about 1 cm thick. Owing to the fragmentary nature of the decoration, it has not been possible to determine the extent of separate areas of plaster, except in the dome, where it may be seen that the reveals were plastered and painted before the plastering of the calotte. In the windows of the dome, the main lines of the ornament were in places incised in the damp plaster, but we have found no scribed lines elsewhere.

The preliminary drawing was executed, once again, in red ochre, which was also used to block out areas of garment, etc. We have found evidence, especially in faces, of a yellow ochre wash used in the underpainting. The figures were then built up in successive layers of paint in the normal Byzantine manner. In many places the finished version modified the underdrawing to a greater or lesser extent, and we have remarked on all observed instances of this. Modification was frequent with regard to the position of haloes, but also affected the outline of figures and of scrolls. Since the uppermost layer of paint was applied when the plaster was relatively dry, it has in several places flaked off to reveal the different outline underneath. The most extreme case of alteration is in the Betrayal on the north wall, and here a fresh wipe of plaster had to be applied.

Except for blue, all the colors used were of the simplest kind, namely:

- | | |
|-------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. yellow | yellow ochre |
| 2. red | red ochre, produced by heating no. 1 |
| 3. greenish brown | raw umber |
| 4. reddish brown | burnt umber |
| 5. green | terre verte |
| 6. black | charcoal or lampblack |
| 7. white | prepared lime |

All the colors in the wall paintings can be imitated by mixes of not more than two of the above, modified by white and/or black.

Samples of blue, kindly analyzed by Miss Joyce Plesters of the National Gallery, London, were found to be ultramarine, which suggests that no expense was spared. In the backgrounds the blue was usually applied in a thin wash over black, except, it seems, in the dome and the Ascension. The clear purple in St. John's robe in the Crucifixion was found to be a mix of ultramarine and red.

In visualizing the original appearance of the decoration it ought to be remembered that gilding was applied on a wide scale. All the haloes were gilded, as were the collars of tunics, the cuffs, and *tablia*.